

Brief. 404 n

Naunton

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Loquebar de testimonijs tuis in conspectu Regum, et non confundebar. *Psa. 119. 46.*



Engraved by R. Cooper from a rare Print by Pass.

*Ye Lps most devoted & bounden
Robert Naunton*

Fragmenta Regalia.

MEMOIRS OF ELIZABETH,

HER

COURT AND FAVOURITES.

BY

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON,

SECRETARY OF STATE TO KING JAMES THE FIRST.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH

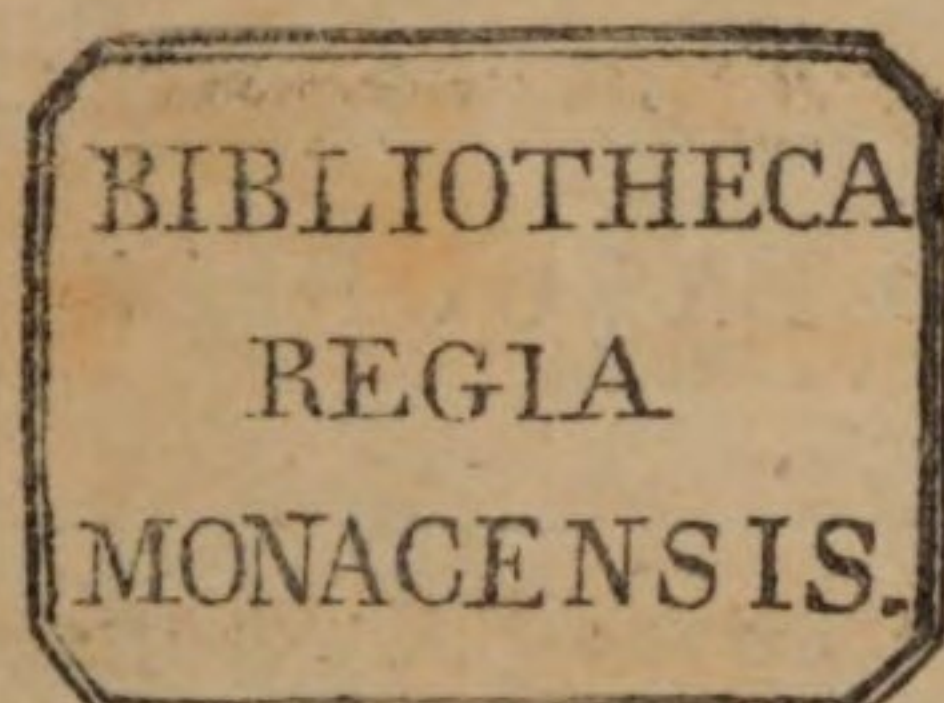
Notes, and a Memoir of the Author.

**THE TEXT COLLATED WITH THE MANUSCRIPT COPIES IN
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.**

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MEMOIR

OF

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON, KNIGHT*.

It sometimes falls to the lot of the biographer to have little to record beyond bare genealogies—memorials of mere names, unenlivened by adventure or important employment, and which are rather the subject of idle curiosity, than of real interest or improvement. Many such fruitless sketches of births and burials—of living rich or dying poor,

* This Memoir is chiefly compiled from *Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, and *Nichols' History of Leicestershire*, who has also been largely indebted to Dr. Birch. A book with the following title, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Naunton, from manuscripts in his own hand*, 1814, fol. pp. 50, and stated to have been *never before printed*, ought not to be passed over in this place without the most pointed reprehension. This book, whilst it pretends to originality, is the most impudent piracy that ever was committed, being copied verbatim from *Nichols' History of Leicestershire*, with the single alteration of the first person, in which Mr. Nichols always speaks, to the third. And of these fifty pages, nearly two thirds of which consist of quarterings, inscriptions, &c. with a portrait; the price is one guinea!!

are preserved by the care of friends or relatives, or the itching fingers of Antiquarian Sages. Few, however, as are the materials for this Memoir, it is not intended to encumber it with an account of Sir Robert Naunton's progenitors in the male and female line, with their epitaphs or eulogies duly recorded: it will be sufficient to say that his family had long been settled in the county of Suffolk; "some avouch," says Fuller, "that this family was here before; others that they came in with the Conqueror, who rewarded the chief of that name, for his services, with a great inheritrix given him in marriage."

Robert Naunton, the author of the *FRAGMENTA REGALIA*, was born in 1563, being the son of Henry Naunton, Esq. of Alderton, in Suffolk, and of Elizabeth his wife, whose maiden name was Ashby. Of the occurrences of his early years no record remains. He was admitted a fellow commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was subsequently chosen fellow of Trinity Hall. "When his uncle, William Ashby, was sent ambassador from Queen Elizabeth into Scotland, in 1589, he attended him thither, and was sometimes dispatched by him on affairs of trust and im-

portance to the court of England, where he was, in July in that year, discontented with his unsuccessful attendance on courtiers, and resolved to hasten back to his uncle; to whom he returned in the month following, and continued with him until his death, which happened in January, 1589-90." After this event he returned to Cambridge, where he proceeded master of arts, and in 1594 was public orator of that university. It is probable that it is to this situation he alludes in a letter to the Earl of Essex, when he says he was preferred to his place at Cambridge by her majesty's special license. "His speeches," says Lloyd,* "both while proctor and orator of Cambridge, discovered him more inclined to public accomplishments than private studies." Naunton seems, at this time, to have been taken under the patronage of Essex, and having in October, 1595, received a licence from the master and fellows of Trinity Hall to travel beyond the seas for three years from that time, "together with all emoluments, profits, stipends, and commodities appertaining to the right of a fellow, for and during the full and whole term of the aforesaid three years," he was by that nobleman in 1595-6, sent into France with letters to the English ambassador, and

* State Worthies.

to Antonio Perez, formerly Spanish secretary, who was then in France, ready to render his services to the government of either country on proper terms. Essex, in his letter to Perez, calls the bearer of his dispatches his friend. Naunton, in a letter to the earl, dated February 1, 1596, speaks of himself with great modesty. "For state affairs," says he, "I may not soar so high;" and in giving an account of a conversation between himself and Perez, and of some enquiries of the latter, he says, "my answer is, that I am but a stranger as yet to your honour, far unworthy to be so familiarly inward with your lordship." Mr. Naunton returned to England soon afterwards, probably with Antonio Perez, and in May following Essex wrote the following letter to him, apparently from the fleet which was then about sailing on the Cadiz expedition.

"Mr. Naunton, I thank you for your letter, but my thanks must be short. That which concerneth Antonio Perez, I have answered in a letter to himself. For you I say, that though I have care of him, I would have no inconvenience befall you. If you can in some convenient time dispatch your business, I will either send for you, if you like to be a seaman, and direct you how you shall come well to me, or give you a task in any place where

you would most willingly be, for I would not have you rust. And so I rest your most esteemed friend, ESSEX."

In the same year the Duke de Bouillon having come over to England to ratify the treaty with the King of France against the confederates of the league, Naunton was employed by his patron to accompany the ambassador to Holland, Essex having "procured him the privilege of attending the duke" for some political purpose, but ostensibly as tutor to Mr. Vernon, a young gentleman committed to his care by the earl. In November of that year he writes to Essex from the Hague, that "when he perceived all things in the French negociation to be carried so closely at the beginning, he thought it better, especially upon the duke's own motion, to accompany Mr. Vernon in seeing North Holland, there to learn somewhat to the eye, rather than to sit idle at the Hague, where by the ear they could understand nothing."

From Holland he proceeded to Rouen where the French Court was then held. Here he began to be dissatisfied with the office imposed upon him, which appears to have been to report to his patron all the intelligence he could procure respecting

the proceedings of the French government, and as he expresses it in one of his letters, "to discover what offices might be expected from Perez." In order to accomplish this object, he was obliged to descend to arts of simulation and dissimulation, which were by no means agreeable to him; "for," says he, "if I had not persuaded him that I adored his perfections more than all England, I could not have been admitted to much of the knowledge I was." He could not forbear expressing the uneasiness with which the office sat upon him; desiring leave of the earl to renounce the privilege of following the Duke de Bouillon, which his lordship's mediation had procured him, with an intention of serving him by it, since he found himself incapable of improving it to such a purpose. "My sole contentment," he continues, "is my constancy of devotion to your lordship. For other contentments in this course, I find them so small as I were loth your lordship should be thought too much beholden for my cause, especially where I find so small means or likelihood of bettering, or enabling myself to do your lordship service. It were to small purpose now to allege what I have abiden, and how much more than ever I durst have pro-

mised of myself, in all kinds of patience, both in mind and body. It shall be sufficient, if I may, without accusing any other, excuse my own weakness, that can endure this life no longer. The best allowance of credit I can have is but in nature of betwixt a pedagogue and a spy; both trades, I know not whether more odious or base, as well in their eyes with whom I live, as in my own." He mentions that it would be two months before the Duke de Bouillon would depart from Rouen, and during this time, Naunton intended to remit of his accesses to the duke; so that he should not at last be missed at all." "What of your lordship's money," says he, "shall be left, I will then deliver into the hands of Mr. Vernon, and betake myself to my pure ethicals, since I can no kindlier relish these œconomical employments."

"Your lordship will not suppose that any persuasion of Antonio Perez hath wrought this weariness in me. I protest to your lordship, that neither he hath, nor any living could have taken place to make me swerve from your lordship's instructions; but only these indignities, which it cannot consist either with your lordship's honour, or my own poor credit, that I should well brook. Nay, I have

been so far from accommodating myself to Signior Antonio Perez after my wonted manner, as I blush to think how he hath sought and come himself often to me, and is half possessed with a clean contrary conceit, that I am so highly entreated by the duke and his followers, as I seem to disclaim his own mean entertainment. It is my grief, that he should thus mistake me; but much more that your lordship should be disappointed of your expectation, by my want of strength to tolerate these intolerable conditions." And again, in a letter from Rouen on the first of December, giving an account of the proceedings at Rouen, he declares that his uneasiness in his present situation had wrought inwardly to the prejudice of his health. He however continues to send Essex copious accounts of his conversations with Antonio Perez, and of the proceedings of the court of France. Considerable shrewdness is displayed by the young statesman in his remarks on the then state of affairs in this correspondence; and it is probable that the earl was not very willing for him to leave an employment which he executed with equal zeal and ability. "If my leisure were as great as is my affection to you," says the earl in a letter to him,

“ I would send you so many answers as I receive letters from you; but I am in a place where I am tied to infinite attendance, and am tied to entertain many businesses, and have a fortune of great exercise, and therefore I am sure you will not look for many compliments from me; and for directions you need them not.

* * * * *

“ The queen is every day more and more pleased with your letters, and doth promise your skill, rest. I do truly protest that I read no man’s writing with more contentment, nor ever saw any man so much and so fast by any such like improve himself. Therefore let the pains you have taken, and incommodities you daily suffer not discourage you; for as your own increase in sufficiency doth make you amends, so I doubt not you shall see you have made yourself a way to good employment and good fortune. I hope strongly of her majesty’s gracious disposition towards you; but promise for myself to be your most affectionate and constant friend. ESSEX.

From Rouen he went to Paris, and here, again, in November, 1597, “ still harping on my daughter,” he expresses his desire of departing from

Paris, but whither he could not presume to say without the earl's approbation. He had now, he said, but one year left of his three, to spend in the rest of France, and in Italy and Germany. This was all the years of his life to come, that he could expect to dispose of at his own discretion, with his father's blessing ; and he should desire to husband it the best he could, if he knew how, so as at his return he might most satisfy the earl and his father ; for other satisfaction of his own apart he could have none, he expected none, he could affect none. His own greatest inclination was to enlarge himself a little after this mewing up, and to inform himself what he could, in so short a time, in the knowledge of the languages, and the principal places in France and Italy ; and then to return home through Germany, if the passage should be free for Englishmen. The earl's former directions had so inured him, as he could not now promise himself in any sort to improve his travels, without his lordship's prescription and allowance of his course. He desired no more commendations to the great men in France, which he saw did but breed suspicions and jealousies. He desired much less the countenance and opinion of an employed

man. He only desired his lordship's attention as it were, by way of recommendation for a safe conduct, to grace himself with the reputation of an honest, poor man, in case he should fall into any question in Italy or Germany, where he was told that such commendations were of most use, and likewise expected of course. Whatever gleanings he might gather in this scattered harvest, were already consecrated to his lordship's altar; and if he might in his way perform any acceptable service to his lordship, he should take it for one of the principal blessings that could befall him, and for a like principal encouragement to be commanded by his lordship. It was too late for him to protest how much he was ashamed of himself to think how far he strayed from the first intent and drift of this travel, which was only to have prepared and qualified himself, so as he might have done his lordship service at his return. He thought to have played the Pythagorean for three years of his stay abroad, to have heard and seen what he could, and said nothing. But it pleased his lordship to vouchsafe him such commendations and favours at his first coming out, "as my devotions," he continues, "grew impatient to coop themselves up for so long

a time as my sufficiency would ask to breed in. This ὑσπερον πρότερον is allowed for a poetical figure, but not practical, where too forward zeals, out-flying ability, may prove the highway to a break-neck precipitation. I must now labour to temper these zeals so, as they may be more *secundum scientiam*. Increase of knowledge and experience cannot diminish them, but may perfect them. Having found already how little I can *scribere proficere*, I must now turn over a new leaf, that I may learn another day *proficiendo scribere*; *an non scribere?*” Naunton’s letters to the Earl of Essex, the substance or copies of which are given in *Birch’s Memoirs*, terminate in February, 1597-8, when we lose sight of him for a short time. The earl’s encouragement to Naunton to remain in the capacity he was then in, does not appear to have been at all agreeable to him, but his patron’s power and influence, and his professed intention of advancing him, had for awhile overcome, or at least mitigated his dislike. As the correspondence, however, probably ceased at this time, it may be supposed that Naunton pursued his travels. Shortly after the expiration of the term allotted for them, the earl’s disastrous expedition to Ireland took place, and

his consequent disgrace, an event which putting an end to any immediate prospect of advancement, most likely caused Naunton's return to Cambridge, where he was chosen proctor in 1601.

"He improved," says Lloyd, "the opportunity of the speech he was to make before King James at Hichinbrook, so well, that as his majesty was highly affected with his Latine and learning, so he exactly observed his prudence and serviceableness; whereupon he came to Court as Sir Thomas Overburie's assistant first, and then as Sir George Villiers' friend." He was member of parliament for Helston in Cornwall in 1614. The first court promotion bestowed upon him was the office of Master of the Requests, and then a surveyor of the Court of Wards. He received the honour of knighthood at Windsor in 1615, and after the death of Sir Ralph Winwood was sworn secretary of state to James the First, on the eighth of January, 1617-18. How Naunton employed the interval between his return to England and his elevation to this important station, whether he owed his rise to the circumstance of the king's having been charmed "with his Latine and learning" or to the interest of Buckingham, or to both conjoined, or by what

gradations in court service he effected it, does not appear. "The place," says Fuller, "he discharged with great ability and dexterity, and I hope it will be no offence here to insert a pleasant passage. One M. Wiemark, a wealthy man, great novilant and constant Paul's walker, hearing the news that day (October 29, 1618) of the beheading of Sir Walter Raleigh, 'his head,' said he, 'would do very well on the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, secretary of state.' These words were reported, and Wiemark summoned to the privy council, where he pleaded for himself; that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction; only he spoke in reference to an old proverb, *two heads are better than one*; and so for the present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to St. Paul's, Wiemark, at the council-table, subscribed one hundred pounds, but Mr. Secretary told him *two* hundred were better than one; which betwixt fear and charity, Wiemark was fain to subscribe." In a letter of Sir Robert's to the Duke of Buckingham, dated May 8, 1620, he speaks of himself in a manner at once ludicrous and querulous. "I shall," says he, "be forced to take

physick to-morrow, which I have had a desire and cause to do long since; but I protest I have not had a free day for it these two years. I am not querulous; though God knows I suffer in my health, and otherwise, having neglected all other things in respect to my true zeal to his majesty's service, and to make good your lordship's noble undertaking for me, to the best of my poor abilities; what I have been capable of I have done without grumbling or craving the spur, not in eye-service or as a man-pleaser; and I am not yet so weary of serving his majesty, and your lordship, as that I would accelerate mine end by too much neglecting my health, as long as I shall have any strength of nature left."

In this year too, he was chosen one of the members of parliament for the university of Cambridge, and was re-elected for the same university in two subsequent parliaments. Naunton seems to have been too little a courtier to preserve his place for any length of time. Lloyd, who when speaking for himself, and not in the language of others, is not very accurate, frequently preferring a pointed sentence to a just sentiment, describes him as reserved and sullen, though zealous. Gondemar,

the Spanish ambassador, had, by his artful and insinuating conduct, gained such an influence over James, that he in effect ruled the Court, and, says Rapin, (anno 1620-21) "all who had any expectations from the Court, were careful not to offend him in any thing whatever, knowing how much it was in his power to prejudice such as he was displeased with. Secretary Naunton, failing on some occasion to make use of this policy, lost his place, which was given to Conway." This account is confirmed by Wilson in his *Life of James*. "Sir Robert Naunton," he says, "a gentleman of known honesty and integrity, shewed a little dislike of these proceedings of Gondemar, and was commanded from court, and Conway put in his place." Naunton did not, in fact, entirely lose his place at this time, although he was reprov'd by the king, suspended from office, and confined to his house. In August, 1621, Naunton was restored to liberty, and again entered on the duties of his office, but either the king or Buckingham was dissatisfied with him, and he was again, in September, 1622, threatened with the loss of his place. This second danger produced the following letter to Buckingham.

“To the right honorable my singular good lord,
my Lord Marquis Buckingham, lord high
admirall of England. To his lordship's own
hands.

“My good lord; I must begin with my duest
thanks for your lordship's so noble care of me,
and those your comfortable professions and pro-
mises; whereupon next after God and his majesty,
I will solely rely, and will as unviolably perform
what I have reciprocally promised your lordship,
as I do assuredly promise myself what your lord-
ship hath undertaken for me and mine, whereof I
know your lordship will admit no doubt. The
world cannot take this from me, which I shall carry
with me to the grave, that I have been always
constantly true to my avowed friends, yea more
true to my dead friends, how unfortunate soever
to themselves and me, than many know how to be
to their best deserving ones alive; which quality
I must praise it the higher in myself, the dearer it
hath cost me in my fortunes. Now the world
knows, that which I must ever acknowledge, your
lordship hath already, and are likeliest still here-
after to deserve more of me and mine, than all my
friends put together ever could. Do, my dear lord,

give me leave to crave a little respite, before I write the letter I promised; which I know your lordship will, in your tender care of me and mine, give way unto, when you shall have read this that follows; yea, and would not forgive it me, if I should ere have omitted to present it to you in time, before it was too late. My lord, when there was a rumour spread, about this time twelvemonth, that my place should be taken from me, my wife, being then great with child, miscarried of a son; which how near it sits us both to this day, God best knows. She is a woman, and a woman naturally subject to stronger apprehensions than I could wish; weak some ways as all mankind is; fearful and mistrustful enough, which she accounts a woman's wisdom. She is now greater of the like burthen than ever she was of any before, and looks for her lying in betwixt this and All-saints at the furthest,—but I doubt and fear that she will again come before her time, especially if she shall apprehend the loss of my place; whereof she would have grown a little jealous, since your lordship's late speech with me, if I had not given her all the best hopes and comforts which in discretion I can. I am now grown in years, and cannot expect many chil-

dren ; it is come upon me, beyond my expectation, that she hath conceived again, since her last so dangerous miscarrying. My sweet lord, put me not to this desperate trial, when the present necessity is no greater, which may prove more to me than an Abraham's sacrifice, in hazarding an Isaac and a Sarah both under one. Those children, God shall vouchsafe to give us, may in time prove none of the unfaithfulest to your own happy posterity. Sir Edward Conway is my noble friend, and a gentleman, if I know him so right as I think I do ; he will not find it in the honor of his own head to effect succeeding me so easily to the extirpation of my posterity, which must be far dearer to me than this fag-end of my life. Let me but see her past the danger of this child-bed before she shall know of my parting with my place, and I will write, and do, and endure whatever your lordship shall be pleased to direct me ; and will be bounden to you for your loving directions, which I know they will be carefully and advisedly bent to my most good ; which I rest assured your lordship will not take to heart more than it is, or can be by your lordship's most devoted and obliged, humble servant,

ROBERT NAUNTON.

Charing Cross, Sept. 23, 1622.

Having doubtless received an intimation from Buckingham, that it would be prudent to tender his resignation, he made the situation of his wife a pretext for a little delay, in the hope that his majesty's displeasure would in the mean time subside, or that he should obtain an equivalent for the place he was expected to resign. His letter, which displays some degree of weakness, if not meanness, as well as an undignified clinging to office against the wishes of his master, had however the effect of obtaining a short respite; and in the month of January following he gained a son and lost his secretaryship. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Master of the Court of Wards; on which occasion he expressed his thanks to the king in the following terms:—

“Most gracious and most redoubted Sovereign, Lord and Master.

“The most comfortable assurance of your majesty's wonted grace and favour, which I had formerly received from you by the faithful intimations of my noble lord admiral, and my Lord of Carlisle, your majesty has this day confirmed with an apparent badge of your princely bounty under your great seal. My entire and true thankfulness unto God and your majesty, I shall be humbly ambitious

to seal with my best blood, whensoever your service shall so occasion me. Meanwhile I will pay my daily vows to his divine majesty for his heavenly retributions upon you and yours; and will use my best endeavours to assure your majesty, that it hath not employed any portion of your incomparable good upon any man more faithfully devoted to serve, honour and obey, and to shield the true greatness, honor, and universal happiness of you and yours, than is, and ever will be, your majesty's most faithful and most obliged servant,

“ ROBERT NAUNTON.”

‘ Charing Cross, July 16, 1623.’

Sir Robert married the niece of his first patron, Penelope, the daughter and sole heir of Sir Thomas Perrot, knight, by Dorothy the daughter of Walter, Earl of Essex. The only offspring of this marriage was one son, James, before alluded to, and who survived his birth only a little more than two years, and a daughter, Penelope, who was married first to Paul Viscount Bayning, and afterwards to Philip Lord Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke.

The following epitaph on the death of his infant son was probably written by Sir Robert.

Here lies the boy, whose infancy was such
 As promised more than's parents durst desire;
 Yea, frightened them by promising too much
 For earth to harbour long, as reaching higher
 At those perfections which he now enjoys
 With his best Father---Father of us all!---
 That own'd him from his cradle, and now joys
 In his assumption cœlestiall.
 Stoop dust and ashes! oh! let heart and voyce
 Of men and angels before the God of Gods,
 That gives his grace in crosses to rejoice;
 Gain out of loss! comfort out of his rods:
 He gave his only son for us; and shall
 Not this of ours be rendered at his call?
 Adieu God's darling! go possesse that crown,
 That puts thy Godfather's diadems down*.
 The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken
 And blessed be the name of the Lord.

Unico filio mnemosynum posui Robertus Nantonus.

Having enjoyed the situation of Master of the Court of Wards for upwards of ten years, Sir Robert resigned it in March, 1634-5, and died on the Good Friday following.

“ His most excellent piece, called *Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favorites*, sent forth since his death,

* Did the king stand godfather to his son? This seems to imply that he did.

was," says Fuller, "a fruit of his younger years; yet was it in such high esteem, as an authentic collection of curious remarks, by the generality of men in place and business, that it was the constant practice of divers clerks in parliament and term time, to transcribe copies of it for the use and service of the lovers of antiquity and state; and these copies had the honor afterwards of being treasured up among the choicest manuscripts *."

This account of Sir Robert Naunton we shall conclude with his lines on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, in order to afford the reader a specimen of his Latinity.

In obitum nobilissimi Clarissimiq: Herois, D. Philippi Sydneij,
Equitis Aurati.

Cui Dea nascenti præsto Lucina manebat,
Cui nato admorunt charites, atque ubera Musæ,
Cui sua magnus Apollo dedit, sua Juno, Venusq:
Symbola certatim dederant; huic munera Pallas
Dum geminata parat, geminato munere perdit:
Quippe et utroq: suum Sydneium illustret honore
Vult Musis Martem, vult ægida jungere olivæ
Omnia dum dare vult, rapit heu rapit omnia habentem.

R. NANTON.

* It was printed after his death in 4to. 1641, 1642, and in 12mo. 1694, together with Walsingham's *Arcana Aulica*; and again in the *Phœnix*, in 8vo. with *Hentzner's Travels*, 1797, and with the *Memoirs of Cary, Earl of Monmouth*, in 1808, to which we may add the very inaccurate reprint of it by James Caulfield, in 4to. 1814.

In all these editions of the *Fragmenta Regalia* the text is so

corrupt, as frequently to render the understanding of it difficult, and the reading of it unpleasant. In the present edition the greatest care has been taken to correct the errors in the former editions, by a minute collation with the manuscripts in the British Museum, one of which there is reason to believe is in the hand-writing of the author himself; and it is confidently hoped that the text will now be found accurate and intelligible.

FRAGMENTA REGALIA.

WRITTEN BY

SR ROBERT NAUNTON,

MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDS.



PRINTED ANNO DOM.

1641.

FRANCIS A. H. H. H.

WELLS

ST. ROBERT NANTON

MAKER OF THE BEST OF WARE



PRINTED AND CO.

1841



From M. Radclyffe's Picture.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

EARL OF SUSSEX.

Published by Chas. Baldwyn, Newgate Street.



Painted by Zuccherò.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

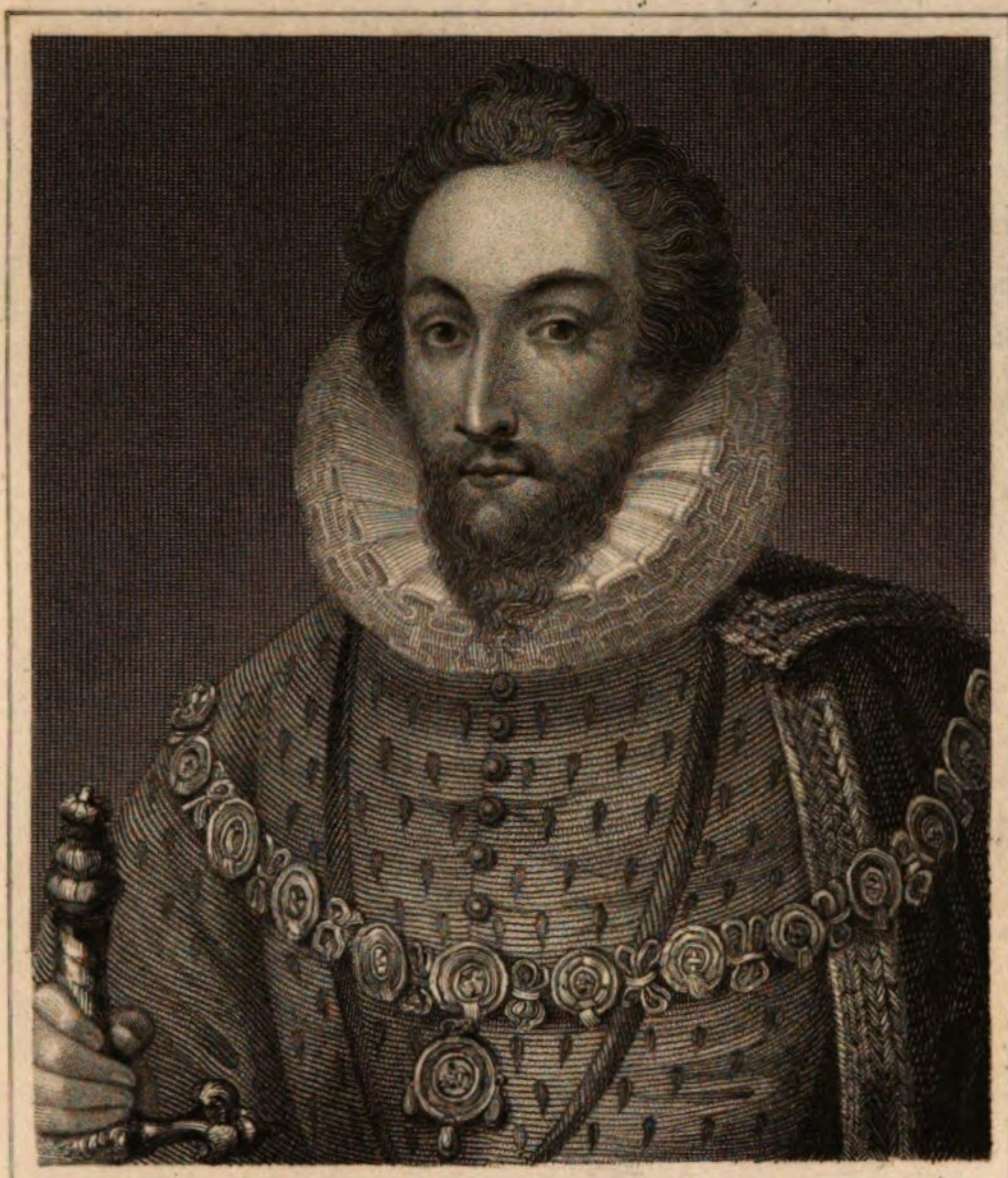
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Engraved by R. Cooper.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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Engraved by R. Cooper.

LORD HUNSDON.

Published by Cha.^r Baldwyn Newgate Street.



Drawn by I. Oliver

Engraved by R. Cooper.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Published by Cha^s. Baldwyn, Newgate Street.





Engraved by R. Cooper.

EARL OF LEICESTER.

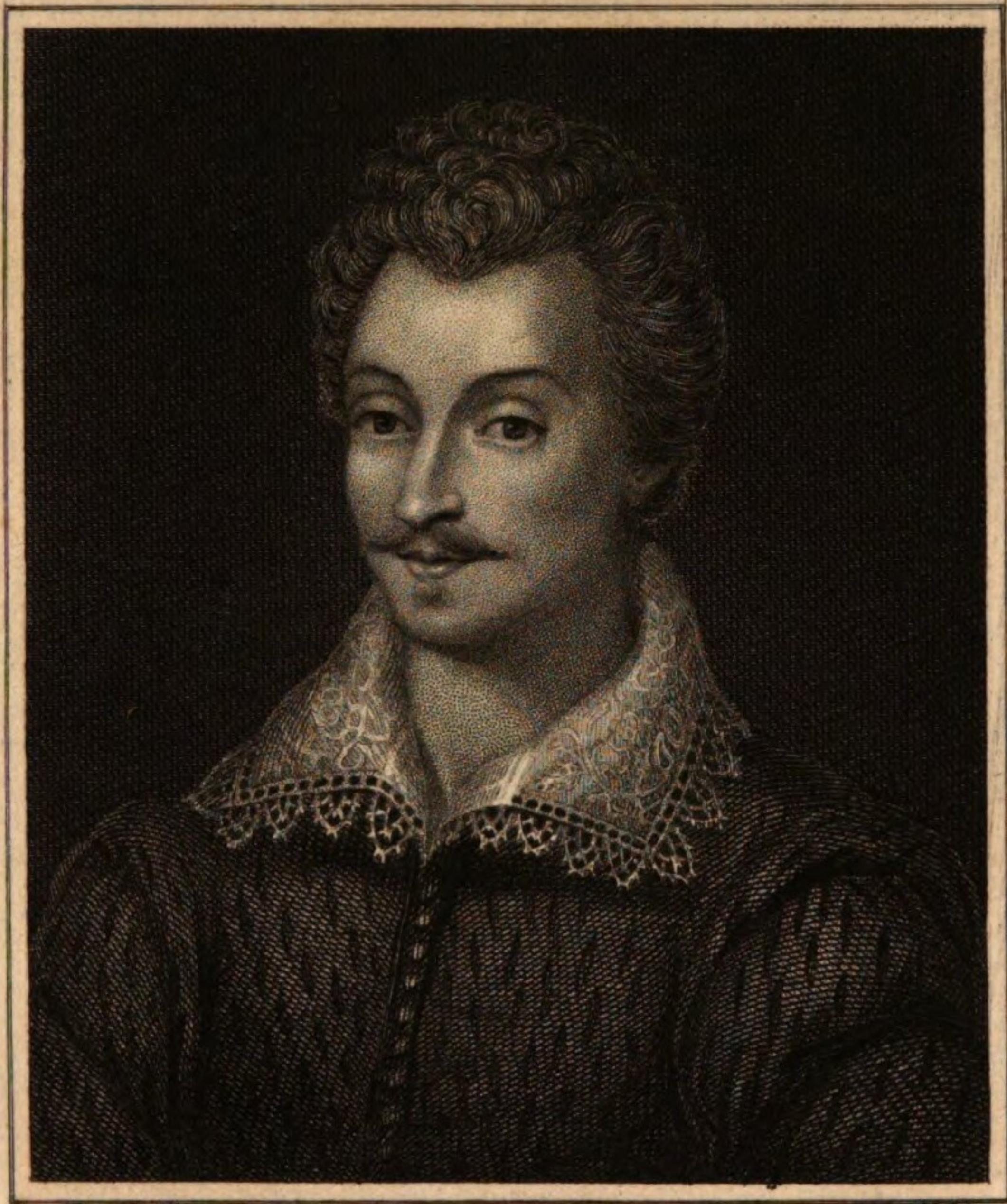
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LORD BURLEIGH.

Published by Cha^s. Baldwyn. Newgate Street.



From a Picture by Oliver.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

Published by Cha.^s Baldwyn, Newgate Street.

FRAGMENTA REGALIA*.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

To take her in the original, she was the daughter of King Henry the Eighth by Ann Bullen, the second of six wives. She had been one of the maydes of honour to the divorced Queene Katherine of Austria, or, as they now stile it, Infanta of Spaine, and from thence taken into the royall blood.

That she was not of a most noble and regall extract by her father, will not fall into question, for on that side was disembogued into her veines, by a confluence of blood, the very abstract of all the greatest houses in Christendome, and remarkable it is, considering the desertion of the royall house of the Britaines, by the invasion of the

* Nous avons une traduction (française) du livre de Robert Naunton intitulé, *Le caractere veritable d'Elizabeth, reine d'Angleterre.*—*Melanges de l'Histoire et de la Litterature*, tom. i. p. 132.

Saxons, and afterwards by the conquest of the Normans: yet by the vicissitude of times, and discontinuance for almost a thousand yeares, the regall scepter should fall back into the current of the British blood in the person of her renowned grandfather King Henry VII. together with whatsoever the German, Norman, Burgundian, Castilian, and French atchievements, with the intermarriages, which eight hundred yeares had acquired, incorporated and brought back into the regal line.

By her mother she was of no souveraigne descent, yet noble and very ancient in the family of Bullen, though some erroneously brand it with a citizen's rise, or originall, which was yet but of a second brother, who as it were divining the greatness and lustre to come to his house, was sent into the city to acquire wealth, *ad re-edificandum antiquam domum*, unto whose achievements, for he was Lord Mayor of London*, fell in, as it was averred, both the blood and the inheritance of the eldest brother, for want of issue male; by which accumulation the house within few descents mounted *in culmen honoris*, and was suddenly dilated into the best families of England and

* Sir Geoffry Boleyn, Lord Mayor, 1457.

Ireland—as Howard, Ormond, Sackeville, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her stirp, I come to her person, and how she came to the crowne by the decease of her brother and sister.

Under Edward the Sixth she was his, and one of the darlings of fortune; for besides the consideration of blood, there was betweene these two princes a concurrencie and sympathy in their natures and affections, together with that cœlestiall bond, conformitie in religion, which made them one; for the king ever called her his dear and sweetest sister, and was scarce himself, she being absent; which was not so betweene him and the Lady Mary.

Under her sister she found her condition much altered; for it was resolved, and her destinie decreed to set her an apprentice in the schoole of affliction, and to draw her through that ordeal fire of tryall, the better to mould and fashion her to rule and soveraigntie; which finished, and Fortune calling to minde that the time of her servitude was expired, gave up her indentures, and therewithall delivered into her custodie a scepter, as the reward of her service; which was about the twenty-sixth year of her age, a time in which, as

for her externalls she was full blowne, so was she for her internalls growne ripe and seasoned by adversitie, in the exercise of her virtues: for it seems Fortune meant no more than to shew her a peece of her varietie, and changeablenesse of nature, and so to conduct her to her destiny—felicitie.

She was of person tall, of haire and complexion faire, and therewithall well favored, but high nosed, of limb and feature neate, and, which added to the lustre of these externall graces, of a stately and majesticke comportment, participating in this, more of her father, than of her mother, who was of an inferior allay, plausible, or, as the French word hath it, more debonaire, and affable; virtues, which might well suite with majesty, and which descending as hereditary to the daughter, did render her of a more sweet temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people, who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular prince*.

* Elizabeth was by no means ignorant of the innocent and honest arts by which the affections of the people are to be acquired and retained. The following lively delineation of her character, by an old writer, is quoted from Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 276.

“ In her progress she was most easy to be approached; private

The atrocitie of her father's nature was rebated in her, by her mother's sweeter inclinations; for to take no more than the character out of his owne mouth, he never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.

If we search further into her intellectualls and abilities, the whole course of her government deciphers them to the admiration of posteritie; for it was full of magnanimitie, tempered with justice, pittie, and pietie, and to speake truly, noted but with one staine or taint*; all her de-

persons and magistrates, men and women, country-people and children, came joyfully and without any fear to wait upon her and see her. Her ears were then open to the complaints of the afflicted and of those that had been any way injured. She would not suffer the meanest of her people to be shut out from the places where she resided; but the greatest and the least were then in a manner levelled. She took with her own hand, and read with the greatest goodness, the petitions of the meanest rustics. And she would frequently assure them that she would take a particular care of their affairs; and she would ever be as good as her word. She was never seen angry with the most unseasonable or uncourtly approach; she was never offended with the most impudent or importunate petitioner. Nor was there any thing in the whole course of her reign that more won the hearts of the people than this her wonderful facility and condescension, and the sweetness and pleasantness with which she entertained all that came to her."

* Her treatment of the unfortunate Mary Stuart will ever be considered as a blot in the escutcheon of Elizabeth. The facts of the case are too notorious to need repetition, and we shall only

privations, either of life or libertie, being legall, and necessitated. She was learned, her sex and the times considered, beyond all common beliefe; for letters about this time, or some-what before, began to be of esteeme and fashion, the former ages being over-cast with the mists and fogges of the Roman ignorance, and it was the maxime that over-ruled the foregoing times, that ignorance was the mother of devotion*. Her wars were a long time more in the auxiliarie parts in assisting of forraigne princes and states, than by invasion of any, till common policie advised it for a safer way to strike first and abroad, than at home to expect wars: in all which she was felicitous and victorious.

observe, that whatever may be the truth of the accusations of Murray, such conduct towards a sovereign princess was equally disgraceful as an infraction of the laws of nations, and a violation of the rights of hospitality.

* The great Lord Burleigh "wold often saie he thought there was never soe wise a woman borne, for all respects, as Queene Elizabeth; for she spake and understoode all languages, knewe the estates and dispositions of all princes, and was so expert in her owne, as noe counsellor she had cold tell her that she knew not. She had soe rare gifts as when her council had said all they cold, she wold find out a wise counsel beyond all theirs; and thus she shewed her wisdom and care of her country, for there never was anie great consultation, bnt she wold be present there herself, to her great profit and praise."

Life of Cecil from Lord Exeter's MSS. p. 71.

The change and alteration of religion upon the instant of her accession, the smoake and fire of her sister's martyredomes scarce quenched, was none of her least remarkeable actions; but the support and stablishment thereof with the meanes of her owne subsistance amidst so many powerfull enemies abroad, and those many domestique practises were, methinks, workes of inspiration, and divine providence; which on her sister's departure, she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the glory of her deliverance to God alone: for she being then at Hatfield, and under a guard, and the parliament then sitting, she received the newes both of the queene's death, and of her owne proclamation, by the generall consent of the House and the publique suffrage of the people; whereat falling on her knees, after a good time of respiration, she uttered this verse of the psalme:—*A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris* *, which we find to this day on the stampe of her gold, with this on her silver, *Posui Deum adiutorem meum*.

Her ministers and instruments of state, such as were *participes curarum*, and bore a great part of the burthen, were many, and those memorable:

* Psalm cxviii. ver. 23.

but they were only favorites, not minions, such as acted more by her princely rules and judgment, than by their owne wills and appetites; which she observed to the last, for we find no Gavestone, Vere, or Spencer, to have swayed alone, during fortie foure yeares: which was a well settled and advised maxime, for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, it tooke best with the people, and it staved off all emulations which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimonie even against the prince, where there is only admitted into high administrations a Major Palatii.

The principall note of her raigne will be, that she ruled much by faction and parties, which she her selfe both made, upheld, and weakned, as her owne great judgement advised. For I disassent from the common opinion, that my Lord of Leicester was absolute and alone in her favour and grace; and though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of those times, yet that I may not run and shoot at randome, I know it from assured intelligence that it was not so; for prooffe whereof, amongst many that I could name, I will relate both a story and a knowne truth, and it was thus: Bowyer, the gentleman of the black-rod, being charged by her expresse command, to looke pre-

cisely to all admissions into the privy-chamber, one day stayed a very gay captaine, and a follower of my Lord of Leicester, from entrance, for that he was neither well knowne, nor a sworne servant to the queene; at which repulse, the gentleman, bearing high on my Lord's favour, told him that he might perchance procure him a discharge. Leicester coming to the contestation said publikely, which was none of his wont, that he was a knave, and should not continue long in his office; and so turning about to goe to the queene, Bowyer, who was a bold gentleman and well beloved, stept before him, and fell at her majestie's feet, relates the story, and humbly craves her grace's pleasure, and whether my Lord of Leicester was king, or her Majesty queen; whereunto she replied, with her wonted oath, God's death, my Lord, I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you, that others shall not participate thereof, for I have many servants unto whom I have and will at my pleasure confer my favor, and likewise reassume the same, and if you thinke to rule here, I will take a course to see you forth coming: I will have here but one mistris and no master, and look that no ill happen to him, least it be severely required at your hands: which so quailed my Lord of Leicester,

that his fained humilitie was long after one of his best vertues*.

Moreover Thomas Earle of Sussex, then Lord Chamberlaine, was his professed antagonist to his dying day, and for my Lord Hunsdon, and Sir Thomas Sackville, after Lord Treasurer, who were all contemporaries, he was wont to say of them that they were of the tribe of Dan†, and were *noli me tangere*, implying that they were not to be contested with, for they were indeed of the queene's nigh kindred. From whence, and in many more instances, I conclude that she was absolute and soveraigne mistress of her grace, and that all those to whom she distributed her favors, were never more than tenants at will, and stood on no better termes than her princely pleasure, and their owne good behaviour. And this also I present as a knowne observation, that she was, though very capable of counsell, absolute enough in her owne resolution; which was ever apparent even to her last, and in that of her

* This incident is introduced with considerable effect in *Kenilworth*.

† *Dan* shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.

Genesis, cap. xlix. ver. 17.

aversion to grant Tyrone* the least drop of her

* This celebrated rebel was a nephew of the famous Shan O'Neal. He had a troop of horse in the pay of Elizabeth, by whom his services were rewarded with a pension of one thousand marks. In 1587 the queen granted to him the estates and earldom of Tyr Oen, which had been forfeited by his father, without reservation: yet in 1588 we find that he afforded assistance and shelter to the crews of several Spanish vessels which escaped from the defeat of the Armada, and facilitated their return to their native country. He afterwards applied himself to foment the discontents of the Macguires, O'Donnells, O'Rourks, and other powerful septs; but being compelled to surrender to Sir William Russel, by his deceitful oaths and protestations he prevailed upon that governor to permit him to return home. Upon his escape he embraced the resolution of openly revolting, and entering into a correspondence with Spain, whence he obtained supplies of arms and ammunition. By the credulity and delays of the English generals, Tyrone succeeded in maintaining this warfare many years; but at last the English council, alarmed by the defeat of Blackwater, levied "a royal army" of twenty-two thousand men, which under the command of Lord Montjoy, in 1603, succeeded in reducing Ireland to obedience, and compelling the submission of the powerful O'Neal. Notwithstanding the strong determination of the queen to bring him to punishment, the crafty traitor made such interest with the ministers as to procure a pardon for his offences; and Sir John Harrington complains to Bishop Still that he had lived to see "that damnable rebel Tir Owen brought to England, courteously favoured, honoured, and well liked, daring old commanders with his presence, and protection." He was of a mean stature, but a strong body, able to endure labours, watching, and hard fare: being withall industrious, active, affable, and apt to manage great affairs, and of a high, dissembling, subtle, and profound wit.---*Fynes Morrison's Journal*, vol. i. p. 18.---*Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 340-1.---*Stowes Annales*, p. 825.

mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised thereunto, yea wrought on by her whole counsell of state, with very many pressing reasons; and as the state of the kingdome then stood, I may speake it with assurance, necessitated arguments.

If we looke into her inclination, as it was disposed to munificence or frugalitie, we shall find in it many notable considerations, for all her dispensations were so poysed, as though discretion and justice had both decreed to stand at the beame, and see them weighed out in due proportion, the maturitie of her years and judgement meeting in a concurrence; and that in such an age as seldome lapseth to excesse.

To consider them apart, we have not many precedents of her liberalitie, nor any large donatives to particular men, my Lord of Essex his Booke of Parkes excepted, which was a princely gift*, and some more of a lesser size, to my Lord of Leicester, Hatton, and others.

Her rewards chiefly consisted in granting of leases of offices, and places of judicature; but for

* At one time she gave this nobleman thirty thousand pounds, and she is supposed to have bestowed upon him pecuniary favours to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds, inclusive, probably, of a lucrative monopoly.

ready money, and in great summes, she was very sparing; which, we may partly guesse, was a vertue rather drawn out of necessity, than her nature; for she had many layings out, and as her wars were lasting, so her charge increased to the last period. And I am of opinion with Sir Walter Raleigh, that those brave men of her times, and of the militia, tasted little more of her bounty, than her grace and good words, with their due entertainment; for she ever payd the souldiers well, which was the honour of her times, and more than her great adversary of Spaine could performe*: so that when we come to the consideration of her frugality, the observation will be little more than this, that her bounty and it were so woven together, that the one was stinted by an honorable way of spending, and the other limited by a necessitated way of sparing.

The Irish action† we may call a malady, and

* It was a saying of the time, that though the queen paid bountifully, she rewarded sparingly.

† Notwithstanding that the kings of England had been titular lords of Ireland above four hundred years, that fine country was never entirely subjected to them till the reign of Elizabeth. Sir John Davies, in his excellent *Discoverie of the true cause why Ireland was never entirely subdued*, assigns the following as “four maine defects in the carriage of martiall affayres there. First, the armies were for the most part too weake for a conquest:

consumption of her times; for it accompanied her to her end, and it was of so profuse and vast an expence, that it drew neare unto a distemperature of state, and of passion in herselfe, for towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please. Her armes, being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation, and her wonted successe, for it was a good while an unthrifty, and inauspicious

secondly, when they were of competent strength, as in both journeys of Richard the Second, (in the ninth and twenty-second years of his reign,) they were too soone broken up and dissolved: thirdly, they were ill paid; and, fourthly, they were ill governed, which is alwayes a consequent of ill payment." (p. 75)

The condition of the people under such a government was intolerable. Of the English, "the better sort were enforced to quit their freeholds and fly to England, and never returned, though many lawes were made in both realmes to remande them back againe; and the rest which remained became degenerat and meer Irish" (p. 153.); while the miserable natives who were regarded by the laws as alien enemies, and whom therefore it was no felony to rob or murder, (*Archiv. in Cast. Dublin, A. 2. E. II.*) were naturally inimical to the English tyranny. "For as long as they were out of the protection of the lawe, so as every Englishman might oppresse, spoyle, and kill them without controulment, how was it possible they should bee other than outlawes and enemies to the crowne of Englande?" The consequence was, that Ireland was not only unprofitable, but very burthensome to England; and "wise Walsingham thought it no treason to wish it buried in the sea considering the charge it brought."—*Osborne's traditionale Memoyres of the raigne of Elizabeth, No. 22.*

war, did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and the more, for that it was a precedent taken out of her owne patterne. For as the queene, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crowne, supported the revolted States of Holland, so did the King of Spaine turne the tricke upon her selfe towards her going out by cherishing the Irish rebellion; whence it falls into consideration, what the state of this kingdom, and the crowne revenues were then able to indure and embrace.

If we looke into the establishment of those times, with the list of the Irish army, omitting the defeatures at Blackwater, with all precedent expences*, as it stood from my Lord of Essex's undertaking to the surrender of Kingsale to Generall Mountjoy, or somewhat after; we shall find the horse and foote troopes were for three or four yeares together much about twenty thousand, besides the navall charge which was a dependant of the same war, in that the queene was then

* Ireland was unable to defray its own expences, as even towards the support of its peace establishment, England was obliged to contribute twenty thousand pounds a year; while the war against Tyrone cost four hundred thousand pounds per annum. In 1599 six hundred thousand pounds were spent in the short space of six months.—See *Hume*, iv. 174; v. 378.

enforced to keep in continuall pay a strong fleete at sea, to attend the Spanish coasts and parts, both to alarum the Spaniards, and to intercept the forces designed for the Irish assistance: so that the charge of that war alone, did cost the queene three hundred thousand pounds per annum, which was not the moiety of her other disbursements*; an expence, which without the publique aydes, the state and the royall receipts, could not have much longer endured; and out of her owne frequent letters and complaints to the Deputy Mountjoy, for cashiering part of that list as soon as he could, may be collected that the queene was then driven into a strait.

We are naturally prone to applaude the times behinde us, and to vilifie the present; for the current of her fame carries it to this day, how royally and victoriously she lived and dyed without the grudge and grievance of her people: yet the truth may appeare without detraction from the honour of so great a princesse. It is manifest she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of

* The whole of her permanent income could hardly amount to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and, including contingencies, we may, perhaps, estimate her revenue at five hundred thousand pounds a year. (Compare *Sinclair*, vol. i. p. 209; *ib.* p. 211; and the *introductory table*, *ib.* p. xiv.)

her privy-seales, than her progenitors did or could have taken up that way an hundred yeares before her*; which was no inferior peece of state policy to lay the burthen on that horse which was best able to beare it at a dead lift, when neither her receipts could yield her reliefe at the pinch, nor the urgencie of her affayres endure the delayes of parliamentary assistance: and for such aydes it is likewise apparent, that she received more, and that with the love of her people, than any two of her predecessors that tooke most; which was a fortune strayed out of the subjects through the plausibility of her comportment and, as I would say without offence, the prodigall distribution of her grace to all sorts of subjects; for I believe no prince living, that was so tender of honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of sovereign-

* Her debts are said to have amounted to about four hundred thousand pounds, being money borrowed upon the credit of subsidies, the produce of which was received by her successor. "Nothing," observes Sir John Sinclair, "can be more disgusting than to hear this sum and the charges of her funeral made use of as strong arguments with parliament to augment its supplies. In return for such a crown as England, James ought surely to have defrayed, without notice or complaint, the small incumbrances of his generous predecessor, and the insignificant cost of her interment."—*Sinclair's History of the Revenue*, vol. i. page 233, and page 393: and see note to page 20, *infra*. Naunton, it will be remembered, was a minister of King James.

tie, was so great a courtier of the people, yea of the commons, and that stooped and declined lower in presenting her person to the publique view, as she passed in her progresses and perambulations, and in her ejaculations of her prayers on the people.

And truely though much may be written in praise of her providence and good-husbandry, and that she could upon all good occasions abate her magnanimitie, and therewithall comply with the parliament, and for all that, at last come off, both with honour and profit*; yet must we ascribe some part of the commendation to the wisdom of the times, and the choyce of parliament-men: for I sayd not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute, the elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the house with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the publique good, and rather to comply than to contest with majesty. Neither doe I finde that the house was weakened and pestered through the admission of

* Hume very justly remarks, that if the supplies granted to Queen Elizabeth, during a reign of forty-five years, amounted (which is improbable) to the sum of three millions, it would only make sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a year.

too many young heades, as it hath beene of latter times : which remembers me of the Recorder Martin's speech, about the tenth of our late soveraigne lord King James, when there were accounts taken of forty gentlemen, not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteene yeares ; which made him say, it was the antient custom for old men to make lawes for young ones ; but that there were children elected into the great councill of the kingdome, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact laws to governe their fathers. Sure we are the house took the common cause into consideration ; and they say the queene had many times just cause, and need enough to use their assistance. Neither do I remember that the house did ever capitulate, or preferre their private affairs to the publique and the queen's necessities, but waited their times ; and in the first place gave their supplies, and according to the exigency of her affaires, yet failed not to the last to obtain what they desired ; so that the queene and her parliaments had ever the good fortunes to depart in love, and on reciprocall termes* : which are considerations that

* " Her frequent calling of parliaments, and not staying till she was compelled, kept them in so moderate a temper as they were more awful to the country than the court. Neither doe I

have not beene so exactly observed in our late assemblies as I would to God they had beene: for considering the great debts * left on the king, and into what incumbrances the house it selfe had then drawn him, his majesty was not well used, though I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the house, where he had many good friends.

find her concession to any statute for her people's good by way of exchange, but purely out of grace; and for the most part, before it was desired; wisely projecting, that where necessity is the chapman, the market doth naturally runne high. Nor was it the guise of these prudent times to dissolve parliaments in discontent, by which a quarrell seemed to be picked with the whole nation; but to adjourn them in love. Wherefore, having to doe with the same men, she was seldom compelled to alter her course; it being impossible that a prince, who had the people's affection in the grosse, should find it wanting in their representative."---*Osborne's Elizabeth*, No. 21. This author is however incorrect in his assertion "that in soe long a raigne she never was forced, as I have heard, to make use of her negative power;" for we are informed by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, that at the close of one session when she assented to forty three bills, she rejected no fewer than forty eight.---*D'Ewes's Journal*, page 596. This prerogative has not been exercised since 1692.---*De Lolme on the Constitution*, page 395.

* "The debts which were left by James upon his successor amounted, according to Sir John Sinclair, to about three hundred and sixty thousand pounds; without including arrears of pensions, and a considerable sum due to the household. So heavy a load, joined to the wars which Charles attempted to carry on, involved him in the greatest distress."---*History of the Revenue*, vol. i., page 393, 394.

for I dare avouch it, had the house been freed of halfe a dozen popular and discontented persons, such as, with the fellow that burnt the temple of Ephesus*, would be talked of, though but for doing of mischief, I am confident the king had obtained that which in reason, and at his first occasion, he ought to have received freely and without condition. But pardon this digression, which is here remembred, not in way of aggravation, but in true zeale of the publique good, and presented in caveate of future times; for I am not ignorant how the genius and spirit of the kingdome now moves to make his majesty amends on any occasion, and how desirous the subject is to expiate that offence at any rate, may it please his majesty graciously to make triall of his subjects' affections, and at what price they value now his goodnesse and magnanimitie.

But to our purpose: the queene was not to learne that as the strength of the kingdome con-

* Inventus est enim qui Dianæ Ephesiæ templum incendere vellet, ut, opere pulcherrimo consumpto, nomen ejus per totam terrarum orbem disjiceretur. At bene consuluerunt Ephesii, decreto memoriam teterrimi hominis abolendo.--*Valerius Maximus*, lib. vii. cap. 14. ext. 5. *edit. Torrenii*. Theopompus and Strabo have frustrated this design of the Ephesians by recording the incendiary's name to have been Herostratus. (*Strabo*, lib. xiv. pag. 640, *edit. Causauboni*.)

sisted in the multitude of the subjects, so the securitie of her person consisted and rested in the love and fidelitie of her people, which she politiquely affected, as it is thought, beneath the height of her natural spirit and magnanimitie.

Moreover it will be a true note of her providence that she would alwayes listen to her profit; for she would not refuse the informations of meane persons, which promoted improvement; and had learnt the philosophy of *hoc agere*, to looke unto her owne worke: of which there is a notable example of one Carmarden, an under-officer of the custome-house, who observing his time, presented her with a paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-takings of her customs, and therewith humbly desired her majesty to conceale him, for that it did concerne two or three of her greatest counsellors, whom commissioner Smith had bribed with two thousand pounds a man, so to lose the queene twenty thousand pounds per annum*; which being made

* In the year 1590 the customs were raised from twenty-four thousand to fifty thousand pounds a year.---*Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. page 207. The informer is variously called in the MSS. Carwarden, Carmarden, and Carmarthen; and it is said that the two or three great counsellors who opposed this improvement were Leicester, Burleigh, and Walsingham.

knowne to the lords, they gave strict order that Carmarden should not have accesse to the back staires; but at last her majesty smelling the craft, and missing Carmarden, she sent for him, backed and encouraged him to stand to his information, which the poore man did so handsomely, that within the space of ten years he brought Smith to double his rent, or leave the customes to new farmers: so that we may take this also in observation, that there were some of the queen's coun-cel which were not in the catalogue of saints.

Now as we have taken some particular notions of her times, her nature, and necessities, it is not without the text to give a short note on the helps and advantages of her raigne, which were without parallel: for she had neither husband, brother, sister, nor children to provide for, who as they are dependants upon the crowne, so do they necessarily draw livelyhood from thence, and oftentimes exhaust and draw deepe; especially when there is an ample fraternity royall, and of the princes of the blood, as it was in the time of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth: for when the crowne cannot, the publique ought to give them honourable allowance, for they are the honour and hopes of the kingdome, and the publique, which enjoyes them, hath the

like interest with the father which begat them; and our common law, which is the inheritance of the kingdome, did ever of old provide aydes for the *primo-genitus*, and the eldest daughter; that the multiplicity of courts, and the great charges, which necessarily followe a king, a queene, a prince, and a royall issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the space of forty-four yeares, and by tyme was worne out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times, insomuch as the aydes given to the late and right noble Prince Henry*, and to his

* It produced twenty thousand eight hundred pounds. Of the aid *pour faire fils chevalier* see *Madox*, page 414, et seqq. 2 Inst. 233. The ceremony of conferring knighthood was solemn and splendid; and attended with an expence so great, as to compel the lord to ask aid of his tenants to enable him to sustain it. These contributions were originally payable *de gratia* and the amount was therefore uncertain; but they having at length become demandable as of right, by the statute of Westminster the first, chap. 36, it was provided *qe desoremes de fee de chivaler enter soulement soient donnez xx s. et de xx livers (ou hidez) de terre tenue per socage xx s. et de plus plus, et de meins meins, selonc l'affairant; et qe nul puisse lever tel eide a faire son fitz chivaler, tant come son fitz soit dage de xv. annz; ni sa file marier, tant come ele soit de vij annz.* The king however was not bound by this statute; but might take such relief, and at such times, as was due by the common law. (2 Inst. 233.) The 35 Ed. III. c. 11. therefore enacted *qe renable eid pur faire leisne fitz le roi chivaler, et sa eisnesce fill marier, soit demande et leve selonc la forme del*

sister, the Lady Elizabeth *, were at the first generally received as impositions of a new coining; yea, the late compositions of knighthood, though an ancient law, fell also into the imputation of a tax of novelty, because it had been long covered in the embers of division between the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, and forgotten or connived at by the succeeding princes: so that the strangeness of the observation, and the difference of those latter raignes, is that the queene tooke up much beyond the power of law, which fell not into the murmur of the people; and her successors nothing but by warrant of the law, which nevertheless was considered to be injurious to the liberty of the kingdom.

Now before I come to any further mention of her favorites, for hitherto I have but delivered some obvious passages thereby to prepare and smooth a way for the rest that followes, it is necessary that I touch on the reliques of the other raigne; I meane the body of her sister's councill

estatut en fait." Aids were abolished, together with all other feudal incidents, by the 12 Car. II. cap. 24, §. 1.

* See *Wilson's History of James I.* (in Kennet) page 690, 691. It produced twenty thousand five hundred pounds. Of the *aide pour fille marier* see *Madox's History of the Exchequer*, page 372, and page 398: 2 Inst. 233, and the next note.

of state*, which she retained intire, neither removing, nor discontenting any; although she knew them averse to her religion, and in her sister's time, perverse to her person, and privie to all her troubles, and imprisonments; a prudence which was incompatible to her sister's nature, for she both dissipated, and persecuted the major part of her brother's councill: but this will be for certaine, that how pliable and obsequious soever she found them, yet for a good space she made little use of their counsells, more than in the ordinary course of the board, for she had a dormant table in her owne princely breast; yet she kept them together, and in their places, without any suddaine change: so that we may say of them, that they were then of the court, not of the councill; for while she amused them by a kind of permissive disputation concerning the points controverted by both churches, she did set downe her owne gests without their privity, and made all her progressions *gradatim*, so that the tents of

* To these, however, she took the precaution of adding eight more, all of whom were zealously attached to the protestant religion. These were the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Thomas Knowles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, created lord keeper and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state.

her secrets and the intents of her establishments were pitched before it was knowne where the court would sit downe.

Neither do I find that any of her sister's counsell of state were either repugnant to her religion, or opposed her doings, Englefeild, master of the wardes, excepted, who withdrew himselfe from the board, and shortly after out of her dominions; so pliable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their prince; and of them there will fall a relation of some recreation: Pawlet Marquesse of Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, had served then four princes in as various and changeable times and seasons, that I may well say, no time nor age hath yeelded the like precedent: this man being noted to grow high in her favor, as his place and experience required,

* Under Henry the Eighth he was ennobled by the title of Lord St. John of Basing, and was created knight-companion of the Garter; under Edward the Sixth, Earl of Wiltshire, and Marquis of Winchester, and appointed Lord Treasurer, Master of the Household, and President of the Council. "He was born in the yeare 1483, and was of the Privie Council to King Henrie the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie. He lived to see one hundred and three persons issue out of his loynes; and died at Basing in Hampshire the 10th of March 1571, where he was honourably interred when he had lived four-score and seventeen yeares."—*Catalogue of Nobility*, by Ralph Brooke, York Herauld, folio, page 345.

was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how he had stood up for thirty years together, amidst the changes and ruines of so many counsellors, and great personages ; Why, quoth the Marquesse, *ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu*,—I was made of pliable willow, not of the stubborne oake. And truly it seems the old man had taught them all, especially William, Earle of Pembroke* ; for they two were alwayes of the king's religion, and thereof zealous professors. Of these it is sayd, that being both younger brothers, yet of noble houses, they spent what was left them, and came on trust to

* “ In 1570, in his climacterical year, died William Earl of Pembroke, leaving behind him three children, Henry, Edward, and Anne. An excellent man, who in a manner fashioned his own fortune. With Henry VIII. he got in great favour ; with whom he was chamberlain. By his wisdom he increased his wealth, especially after such time as the king had married Catharine Parr, his wife's sister. Under Edward the Sixth, whilst the court was distracted with factions, he obtained the garter of the order of St. George, the dignity of master of the horse, the title of Baron Herbert of Cardiff, and the honoure of Earl of Pembroke. Under Queen Mary he commanded her forces against Wiat, and was general of the English at St. Quintin's, lord president of Wales, and twice governor of Calais. Under Queen Elizabeth he was made great master of the household ; whose favour he lost for a time, for that, neither with an ill mind, nor bad intent, he specially furthered Norfolk's marriage with the Queen of Scots ; and it missed but little, but he had been proscribed when dead, by means of certain matters brought to light, and presumptions laid hold on.”—*Camden's Annales*, book ii. page 7.

the court; where upon the bare stocke of their wits they began to traffique for themselves, and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left, more than any subjects from the Norman Conquest to their own times: whereupon it hath beene pretily spoken, that *they lived* in a time of *dissolution*.

To conclude then, of any of the former raigne, it is sayd that those two lived, and died, chiefly in her grace and favor. The latter, upon his son's marriage with the Lady Katharine Gray, was like utterly to have lost himselfe; but at the instant of consummation, apprehending the unsafety, and danger of intermarriage with the blood royall, he fell at the queen's feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause, and the divorce together* · so quick he was at his

* Collins says that "Sir Robert Naunton is mistaken in what he says concerning him: for certain it is that in the repudiation of that lady (which was in the reign of Queen Mary) being not ignorant of that queen's great affection to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, he married his son to Anne, daughter of that earl; which Anne shortly after departing this life, he matched him to Mary the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter, by Mary his wife, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; by which he did no less endeavour to ingratiate himself with the Lord Robert Dudley, one of the sons of that Duke, and afterwards Earl of Leicester, the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who at that time began to grow powerful at court; than by the former to insinuate

work, for it stood him upon, that in the repudiation of the lady he clapt up a marriage for his son, the Lord Herbert, with Mary Sidney, daughter to Henry Sidney, then lord deputy of Ireland; the blow falling on Edward the late Earle of Hartford*; who to his cost tooke up the divorced lady, of whom the Lord Beauchamp was borne, and William, now Earle of Hartford, is descended.

I come now to present those of her owne election, which were either admitted to her secrets of state, or tooke into her grace and favor; of whom in their order I crave leave to give unto posteritie a cautious description, with a short

himself with Duke Dudley, a great man of his time, who projected the match of his son with the Lady Catherine before mentioned.”
—*Collins's Peerage*, by Sir Egerton Brydges, vol. iii. page 120.

* Lady Catherine, sister of Lady Jane Grey, and daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, was discovered to be pregnant by the Earl of Hertford, to whom she had been privately married. Elizabeth sending for that nobleman, he avowed the union; but not being able to produce witnesses within the short time limited by the queen, he was committed to the Tower for defiling a maiden of the royal blood. Here, by bribing his keepers, he found means of communication with his unhappy lady; the consequence of which was the birth of another child. Enraged at this new offence, Elizabeth commanded a fine of fifteen thousand pounds to be imposed by the Star Chamber, as a punishment for Hertford's breach of prison, and his confinement was rendered still more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition some years; till, upon the death of his wife, he was restored to liberty, and to the enjoyment of his estates.

character, and draught of the persons themselves ; for without offence to others, I would be true to my selfe, their memories, and merits ; distinguishing those of the militia from the togati : and of both these she had as many, and those as able ministers, as had any of her progenitors*.

* Tales enim viros nacta est (Elizabetha), quales fortasse hæc insula ante eum diem non peperit. Deus autem regibus favens etiam spiritus ministrorum excitat et ornat. *Bacon in felicem memoriam Elizabethæ reginæ* ; Works, vol. x. page 282.

I shall make no apology for presenting to the reader the following extract from a very rare quarto volume, of which, according to Lord Orford, there are not six copies in all England. A translation will be found in the first volume of the *Retrospective Review*.

*** Postea, cum hora precum instaret, regina ex suo conclavi prodiit tali cum comitatu ; præibant nobiles, barones, comites et equites ordinis Periscelidis, omnes splendide vestiti et capite detecto ; proxime antecedeabant duo, alter qui sceptrum regni, alter qui gladium, in vagina rubra aureis liliis distincta reconditum, sursum versa portabat ; inter quos medius procedebat magnus Angliæ Cancellarius, sigillum regni in marsupio holoserico rubro gerens. Hos sequebatur regina, ætatis, ut rumor erat LXV. annorum, magna cum majestate, facie oblonga et candida, oculis parvis, sed nigris et gratiosis, naso paululum inflexo, labiis compressis, dentibus fuliginosis, quod vitium ex nimio saccari usu Anglos contrahere verisimile est ; inaures habens duas margaritis nobilissimis appensis ; crinem fulvum sed factitium. Capiti imposita erat parva quædam corona, quæ ex particula auri celeberrimæ illius tabulæ Lunæburgensis facta esse perhibetur. Pectore erat nuda, quod virginitatis apud Anglos nobiles signum est ; nam maritatae sunt tectæ : collum torques gemmis nobilissimis refertus

circumdabat; manus erant graciles, digiti longiusculi, statura corporis mediocris, in incessu magnifica, verbis blanda et humanissima. Induta forte tum temporis erat veste serica alba, cujus oram margaritæ preciosissimæ, fabarum magnitudine, decorabant: toga superinjecta ex serico nigro cui fila argentea admixta, cum cauda longissima; quam marchionissa, pone sequens, a posteriore parte elevatam gestabat: collare habebat oblongum, vice catenæ, gemmis et auro fulgens. Tum cum tali in pompa et magnificentia incederet, nunc cum hoc, mox cum alio loquebatur perhumaniter, qui legationis vel alterius rei causa eo venerant, utens nunc materno, nunc Gallico, nunc Italico idiomate; nam præterquam quod Græce et Latine eleganter est docta, tenet ultra jam commemorata idiomata, etiam Hispanicum, Scoticum, et Belgicum. Omnes illam alloquentes, pedibus flexis id faciunt; quorum aliquos manu elevare solet. Hos inter tum erat baro quidem Bohemus, Guilielmus Slavvata nomine, reginæ litteras offerens; cui manum dextram, chirotheca detracta, annulis et lapidibus preciosissimis splendentem, prorexit oscultandam; quod maximum insignis clementiæ signum est. In transitu, quocunque faciem vertit, omnes in genua procidunt. Sequebatur gynæceum ex comitissis, baronissis, et nobilissimis fœminis, summa pulchritudine et forma excellentibus, constans, maxima ex parte vestimentis albicans. Ab utroque latere comitabantur eam satellites nobiles (gentlemen pensioners?) cum hastibus deauratis, quorum quinquaginta sunt numero. In perambulo sacelli, quod huic contiguum est, porriguntur ipsi libelli supplices, quos benignissime accipit; unde tales fiunt acclamationes, "*God save the quene Elizabeth*;" hoc est, Deus salvet reginam Elizabetham; ad quæ sic ipsa respondet; *I thanke you, myn good peupel*; id est, ago tibi gratias popule mi bone. In sacello habebatur excellens musica; qua finita una cum precibus, quæ vix ultra dimidiam horam durabant, regina eadem magnificentia et ordine, quo antea discesserat, redibat et ad prandium se conferebat. Interea vero, dum sacris intererat, vidimus illi apparare mensam hac adhibita solemnitate. Primo nobilis quidem atrium ingressus, sceptrum manu tenebat, adjunctum sibi habens alium quendam nobilem cum

mappa; qui ambo, cum ter summa veneratione genua flexissent, alter ad mensam proprius accedens cum mappa insternebat: quo facto, rursus poplite flexo descedebant. Veniebant post hoc alii duo; quorum alter rursus cum sceptro, alter cum salino orbe et pane aderat; qui, cum uti priores genua ter incurvassent et res modo dictæ mensæ impositæ essent, eadem omnino cum cerimonia abivere. Venit tandem virgo quædam Comitissa, uti affirmabatur, eximiæ pulchritudinis, vestita veste serica alba, cui erat adjuncta nobilis matrona, cultrum prægustatorium ferens; quæ, ter summo cum decore in pedes pervoluta postea ad mensam accessit orbes sale et pane abstersit tanta cum veneratione ac si regina ipsa præsens fuisset: cumque paululum commorata ad mensam esset, venerant satellites regii; omnes capite nudi, sagris rubris induti, quibus in postica parte erant affixæ rosæ aureæ; singulis vicibus xxiv. missus ferculorum in patinis argenteis et maxima ex parte deauratis adferentes. Ab his nobilis quidam ordine cibos accepit, et mensæ imposuit. Prægustatrix vero, cuilibet satelliti de eadem, quam ipsemet attulerat, patina buccellum degustandum præbuit, ne aliquid veneni subesset suspicio. Dum satellites isti, qui centum numero, procera corporis statura, et omnium robustissimi ex toto Angliæ regno ad hoc munus summa cura diliguntur, supradictos cibos apportarent, erant in aulæ area xii tibicines et duo tympanistæ, qui tubis buccinis et tympanis magno sonitu per sesquihoram clangebant. Cæremoniis autem modo commemoratis circa mensam absolutis, aderunt illico virgines aliquæ nobiles, quæ singulari cum veneratione cibos de mensa auferebant, et in interius et secretius reginæ cubiculum reportabant. Eligere ibi regina solet quos vult; cæteri pro Gynæceo servantur. Prandet et cœnat sola cum paucis astantibus, atque nullus admittitur; neque peregrinus, neque regni quoque incola, nisi rarissime, et quidem ex singulari magnatis alicujus intercessione.—*Itinerarium Germaniæ, Galliæ, Angliæ, Italiæ; scriptum a Paulo Hentznero, J. C. 4to. pag. 136, 137, 138.*

LEICESTER.*

It will be out of doubt, that my Lord of Leicester was one of the first : whom she made master of the

* On the same day and hour, which gave birth to the Princess Elizabeth, was born, we are told, Robert Earl of Leicester. To this hidden conspiracy of the stars, which, says Camden, the Greek astrologers term *synastria*, was ascribed, by the superstition of the age, that extensive influence which he exercised over her mind ; and it was believed that this coincidence of their nativities produced a secret and invincible sympathy which secured to him, during life, the affections of his mistress. It may without superstition be admitted, that this circumstance seizing on the romantic imagination of the princess, might produce an impression, which Leicester's personal attractions and insinuating manners, added to his consummate art of feigning, would all combine to render deep and permanent. In 1563 he obtained a grant of the manor of Kenilworth "to the value of fower and twentie poundes and better;" and in the next year was created Baron of Denbigh and Earl of Leicester. Upon the death of his first wife, Amy, the daughter of Sir John Robsart, not without suspicion of unfair play, Dudley, it is supposed, aspired to the throne and bed of his sovereign. Despairing of success, however, he afterwards married Lady Douglas Sheffield, and then Letitia Countess Dowager of Essex; and died in 1588, without issue, unregretted by any, except Elizabeth herself. "He was esteemed," says Camden, "an accomplished courtier; neat, free, and bountiful to martial men and students; skillful to serve the time and his own commodity;

horse. Hee was the youngest son, then living, of the Duke of Northumberland, beheaded *primo Marice*, and his father was that Dudley which our histories couple with Empson: and both so much infamed for the caterpillars of the common-wealth, during the raigne of Henry the Seventh. This Dudley being of a noble extract*, was executed the

of an obsequious disposition, guileful towards his adversaries, given awhile to women, and in his latter days doating beyond measure upon wiving. But whilst he preferred envious power before sound virtue, his detractors apprehended large matter to speak reproachfully of him; who when he was in his most flourishing state, disgracefully defamed him with libels, not without some untruths. To speak in a word; openly he was accounted in the number of honourable men, but privily he was spoken ill of the most sort."—*Camden's Annales*, book iii. p. 146. *Aikin's Memoirs of Elizabeth*, vol. i. page 12, 13. *Birch's Court of Elizabeth*, 4to. vol. i. page 6. *Nichols's Leicestershire*, vol. ii. page 1537.

* Leicester's enemies upbraided him with meanness of birth. "Neither is it like," says the most inveterate of them, "that her majesty, who hath refused (the hands of) so noble knights and princes as Europe hath not the like, would make choice of so meane a peere as Robin Dudley is; noble only in two descents, and both of them stained with the block."—*Leycester's Commonwealth*, page 21, edit. 1641. On this accusation Sir Philip Sidney remarks that "In truth if I shoold have studdied with myself of all pointes of fals invectiōs, which a poisenous tong could have spitt out against that family, yet woold it never have come into my hed, of all other thinges that a man would have objected want of gentry unto it; but this fellow doth like him, who when he had shott off all his railing quiver, cald one cuckhold that was never married, because he woold not be in debt to any one evill

first yeare of Henry the Eighth, but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful estate, and such a son, as the vulgar speakes, would live without a teate; for out of the ashes of his father's infamy he rose to be a duke, and as high as subjection would permit, or soveraigntie indure; and though he could not find out any palliation to assume the crowne in his owne person: yet he projected, and very nearely effected it for his son Guildford by intermarriage with the Lady Jane Gray*, and so by that way to bring it about into his loynes.

word. I am a Dudlei in blood," he continues, "the Duke of Northumberland's daughter's son, and I acknowledg though in all truth I mai justli affirm that I am by my father's syde of ancient and allwaies well esteemed and wel matched gentry, yet do I acknowledg, I sai, that my cheefest honour is to be a Dudlei; and truli am glad to have caws to set foorth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended; which uppon so just cause, without vain glori, could never have been uttred; since no man but this fellow of invincible shamelesness woold ever have cald so palpable a matter in question."—*Memoirs of the Sidneys*, page 645, prefixed to *Sidney papers*, vol. i.

* "Before I went into Germanie," says Roger Ascham, "I came to Broadgate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholdinge. Her parentes, the duke and the duchess, with all the houshold, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the parke. I found her in her chamber, reading Phædon Platonis in Greeke, and that with as much delite, as some jentlemen would read a merrie tale in Bocace. After salutation, and dewtie done, with some other

Observations which though they lie beyond us, and seeme impertinent to the text, yet are they

taulke, I asked her, why she would leese such pastime in the parke? Smiling, she answered me; "I wisse, all their sport in the parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folke, they never felt what trewe pleasure ment." "And howe came you, madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure? And what did chieflie allure you unto it, seeinge not many women, but verie few men, have attained thereunto." "I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a truth which perchance ye will marvell at. One of the greatest benefites that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe parentes, and so jentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence eyther of father or mother; whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merrie, or sad, be sowyng, playing, dauncing, or doing anie thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfitelie as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie, sometimes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies which I will not name for the honor I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I thincke myselfe in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer; who teacheth me so jentlie, so pleasantlie, with such fair allurementes to learninge, that I thinke all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am ca'led from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do els, but learninge, is full of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my booke hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that, in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deede, be but trifles and troubles unto me." "I remember this taulk gladly," adds the good old man, "both because it is so worthie of memorie, and because also it was the last tauke that ever I had, and the last tyme that ever I saw that noble and worthie ladie."—*Schoolmaster, (Works by Bennett) page 222, 223.*

not much extravagant; for they must leade us, and shew us how the after passages were brought about, with the dependency on the hinges of a collateral workmanship. It will amaze a well settled judgment to look back into those times, and to consider how the duke could attaine to such a pitch of greatnesse, his father dying in ignominie, and at the gallowes, his estate confiscate for pilling and polling the people: but when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, as a sacrifice to please the people, not for any offence committed against the person of the king; so that in a manner he was a martyre of the prerogative, and the king in honour could do no lesse than give backe to his son the priviledge of his blood, with the acquiring of his father's possession; for he was a lawyer, and of the king's counsell, at law, before he came to be *interioribus consiliis*, where besides the licking of his owne fingers, he got the king a masse of riches, and that not with the hazard, but the losse of his life and fame, for the king's father's sake*.

* As kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour, Henry the Seventh had gotten for his purpose two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed horseleaches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and who took toll of their master's grist.

Certain it is, that his son was left rich both in purse, and braine, which are good foundations and fuell to ambition; and it may be supposed, he was on all occasions well heard of the king, as a person of marke and compassion in his eye; but I finde not that he did put up for advancement, during Henry the Eighth's time, although a vast aspirer, and a provident storer.

It seems he thought that king's raigne was

Dudley was of a good family, being the grandson of John Lord Dudley of Dudley Castle in Staffordshire, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language: but Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker of Towcester, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons, being lawyers in science, and privy-councillors—*judices fiscales*, Polidore Virgil calls them,---in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine; whereby they became so hated of all people, that they were forced many times to go guarded in the streets. At length King Henry the Seventh, who favoured their actions, because they brought grist to his mill, being dead, his successor, King Henry the Elighth, did, for the people's satisfaction, issue out his special precept for the execution of Dudley, then a prisoner in the Tower of London; whereupon he had his head smitten off on Tower Hill, 28 August, 2 Hen. VIII. being the year of our Lord 1510, leaving then behind him several sons, the eldest of which was John Duke of Northumberland. Various authors mention a tract by him entitled *Arbor Reipublicæ*, written in a juridic stile during his imprisonment. I do not find that it was ever published.—Bacon's *History of King Henry VII.* Works, vol. v. p. 165. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. col. 41.

given to the falling-sicknesse; but espying his time fitting, and the soveraigntie in the hands of a pupill prince, he then thought he might as well put up for it as the best: for having the possession of blood and of purse, with a head-piece of a vast extent, he soone got to honour, and no sooner there, but hee began to side it with the best, even with the protector; and in conclusion, got his, and his brother's heades*; still aspiring, till he expired in the losse of his owne†: so that

* The Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, executed for a conspiracy against the Earl of Warwick and other privy counsellors, and Lord High Admiral Seymour attainted for treasonable words in 1549.

† John, the eldest son of that Dudley who was mentioned in a preceding note, was, notwithstanding his father's attainder, created Viscount Lisle and Lord Admiral. During the reign of Henry the Eighth he appears to have lived in a safe obscurity; but we find him nominated as one of the executors of that monarch's testament. In 1547 he was created Earl of Warwick, and in 1551 he obtained for himself a grant of the Dukedom of Northumberland, and the immense possessions of the house of Percy. Not content with such extraordinary acquisitions, this ambitious man, in order to bring the crown into his own family, procured a settlement of the succession upon Lady Jane Grey, who had married his son; setting aside the king's sisters Mary and Elizabeth: but being unable to obtain the support of the people in the insurrection, which he made upon Edward's death, he was compelled to yield, and having been found guilty by his peers, was condemned and executed for high treason on the twenty-second of August, 1553.

posteritie may by reading of the father, and grandfather, make judgment of the son; for we shall find that this Robert, whose originall we have now traced, the better to present him, was inheritor to the genius and craft of his father, and Ambrose of the estate; of whom hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We take him now as he was admitted into the court and the queene's favour: and here he was not to seeke to play his part well, and dexterously, but his play was chiefly at the foregame; not that he was a learner at the latter game, but that he loved not the after-wit; for they report, and not unjustly, that he was never behind hand with his gamesters, and that they alwayes went away with the losse.

He was a very goodly person, tall, and singularly well featured, and all his youth well-favored, of a sweet aspect, but high-foreheaded, which, as I should take it, was of no discommendation; but towards his latter end, which with old men was but a middle age, he grew high coloured, and red-faced: so that the queene in this had much of her father*, for excepting some of her kindred,

* Osborne says, that "this Princesse, in imitation of her father Henry the Eighth, did admit none about her for pensioners, privy-chambermen, squires of the body, carvers, cupbearers, servers, &c.

and some few that had handsome wits in crooked bodies*, she alwayes tooke personage in the way of affection; for the people have it to this day in a proverb, King Henry loved a man.

Being thus in her favour, she called to minde the sufferings of his ancestors, both in her father's and sister's raignes, and restored his, and his brother's blood; creating Ambrose, the elder, Earle of Warwick, and himselfe Earle of Leicester; and as he was *ex primitiis* and of her first choyce, so he rested not there, but long enjoyed her favor, and therewith what he listed, till time and emulation,

but persons of stature, strength, and birth; refusing to one her consent, demanded before any one could be admitted to the meanest place in her house, because he wanted a tooth: yet was she never knowne to desert any for age or any other infirmity after once enrolled, but either continued them, or upon their discharge gave them considerable and well paid pensions. As for her guard, gentlemen ushers, porters, and all attending below stayers, they were of a no lesse extraordinary size than activity for shooting, throwing the barre, weight, wrastling, &c.; so that such as came hither from beyond seas, upon embassy or curiosity, and who calculate the strength, wisdom, and honour of a nation, by the apparitions they behold at court, had no other cause but to report at their returne, that though a feminine constellation governed the fate of England, yet there remained little hope to any foraigne malignity of operating with successe."---*Traditionall Memoyres on the raigne of Queene Elizabeth*, No. 10. See the extract from *Hentzner*, page 33, ante.

* He seems here to allude to Sir Robert Cecil who was hump-backed.

the companions of greatnesse, resolved of his period, and to cover him at his setting in a cloude, at Conebury, not by so violent a death, and by so fatall sentence of judicature, as that of his father and grandfather was, but as it is supposed by that poyson, which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist*.

* He was accused of poisoning Thomas, Earl of Sussex, Walter, Earl of Essex, (the same Earl whose widow he married,) Lord Sheffield, the Cardinal Chatillon, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Lady Lennox, Mrs. Alice Draycot, and many others. It was facetiously observed, that "his lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when he desireth any woman's favour, then what person soever stand in his way hath the luck to die quickly: * * * and for his art of poisoning it is such now, and reacheth so far, as he holdeth all his foes in England, and elsewhere, and also a good manie of his friends in feare thereof: and if it were knowne how manie he hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would be marvellous to posterity."---*Leycester's Commonwealth*, page 22--28: and see *ibid.* p. 174.

In one of his valuable notes to the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Mr. Bliss has published the following cotemporary narrative, which he found appended to a MS. copy of "*Leicester's Ghost*." "The author (of the poem) hath omitted the end of the earle, the which may thus and truely be supplied. The Countesse Lettice fell in love with Christopher Blunte, gent. of the earle's horse, and they had many secret meetings, and much wanton familiarity; the which being discovered by the earle, to prevent the pursuit thereof, when generall of the Low Counterys, hee tooke Blunt with him, and their purposed to have him made away: and for this plot there was a ruffian of Burgondy suborned, who watching

I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libells of his time, which are commonly forced and falsified, suitable to the moods and humours of men in passion and discontent; but that which leades me to thinke he was no good man, amongst other things of knowne truth, is that of my Lord of Essex his death in

him in one night going to his lodging at the Hage, followed him and struck at his head with a halbert or battle axe, intending to cleave his head. But the axe glaunced, and withall pared off a great piece of Blunt's skull, which was very dangerous and longe in healinge; but he recovered, and after married the countesse; who took this soe ill, as that she with Blunt, deliberated and resolved to dispatch the earle. The earle, not patient of this soe greate wrong of his wife, purposed to carry her to Kenilworth, and to leave her there untill her death by naturall or by violent means, but rather by the last. The countesse also having a suspicion, or some secret intelligence of this treachery against her, provided artificiall meanes to prevent the earle; which was by a cordiall, the which she had no fit opportunity to offer him till he came to Cornebury Hall in Oxfordshire; where the earle after his gluttonous manner, surfeiting with excessive eating and drinking, fell soe ill that he was forced to stay there. Then the deadly cordiall was propounded unto him by the countesse; as Mr. William Haynes, sometimes the earle's page and then gentleman of his bed-chamber, told me, who protested hee saw her give that fatall cup to the earle, which was his last draught and an end of his plott against the countesse, and of his journey, and of himselfe; and soe

Fraudis fraude sua prenditur artifex."

Athenæ Oxon. col. 360. (vol. ii. Bliss's Edit.) in note.

Ireland, and the marriage of his lady, which I forbear to presse, because he is long since dead, and others living whom it may concerne.

To take him in the observation of his letters and writings, which should best set him off, for such as have fallen into my hands, I never yet saw a style or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the straines of devotion* ; and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well being: and I feare he was too well seene in the aphorismes, and principles of Nicolas the Florentine †, and in the reaches of Cæsar Borgia ‡.

And hitherto I have only touched him in his courtship. I conclude him in his lance. He was sent governor by the queene to the revolted States of Holland, where we reade not of his wonders; for they say, he had more of Mercury than he had

* Several of his letters are extant in *Lodge's Illustrations* and other collections. We would charitably hope he was sincere in his religious professions, especially from the circumstance of his supporting the puritans. It is well known how odious this sect was to Elizabeth.---See *Leycester's Commonwealth*, p. 9, 10, 11.

† Nicholo Macchiavelli.

‡ Cæsar Borgia, a monster of wickedness, was a natural son of Pope Alexander the Sixth. He was created Archbishop of Valença and a cardinal, and afterwards made Duke of Valentinois by the King of France. He murdered his brother Francis, of whom he was jealous, and kept in his pay a body of assassins. He died in 1507, fighting bravely under the walls of Vienna.

of Mars, and that his device might have beene, without prejudice to the great Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, redii**.

* Pontico triumpho inter pompæ ferculæ trium verborum prætulit titulum VENI. VIDI. VICI. non acta belli significantem, sicut cæteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.---*Suetonii vita Julii Cæsaris*, (edit. Burmanni,) vol. i. pag. 83, 4, 5.

Καὶ τῆς μάχης ταύτης τὴν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ το ταχὺ ἀναγγελλῶν εἰς Ῥώμην, πρὸς τινὰ τῶν Φιγῶν Ἀμιντίον ἐγράψεν τρεῖς λεξεις, σλῦον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα. Ῥωμαῖη μὲν αἱ λεξεις εἰς ὁμοῖον ἀποληγεῖν σχῆμα ζήματος ἢ ἀπιδανόν τὴν βραχυλογίαν εἰσιν.

Plutarchus in vita Cæsaris, (edit. Bryant,) vol. iv. pag. 153.

SUSSEX*.

His corival, before-mentioned, was Thomas Radcliffe Earle of Sussex, who in his constellation was

* This great man's conduct, says Mr. Lodge, united all the splendid qualities of those eminent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth's court the object of admiration to Europe, and was perfectly free from their faults. Wise and vigilant as Burleigh, without his blind attachment to the monarch; vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his low cunning; magnificent as Leicester, but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive christian; he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history. His first public service was an honourable embassy to the Emperor Charles the Fifth to treat of the proposed marriage of Queen Mary to Philip; which he afterwards ratified with the latter in Spain. Upon his return he was appointed chief justice of the parks and forests north of the Trent and lord deputy of Ireland. By his prudence in the latter office he caused, says Fuller, that actual rebellion brake not out in Ireland; and no wonder if in his time it rained not war there, seeing his diligence dispersed the clouds before they could gather. The order of the Garter, and the office of Chaplain of the Pensioners were likewise conferred on him in that reign, a little before the conclusion of which he succeeded to his father's honours. Elizabeth continued him for awhile in the post of Lord Deputy, and recalled him to assume that of President of the

his direct opposite; for he was indeed one of the queene's martialists, and did her very good service in Ireland, at her first accession, till she recalled him to the court, where she made him Lord Chamberlaine: but he played not his game with that cunning and dexteritie, as the Earle of Leicester did, who was much the more facete courtier, though Sussex was thought much the more honest man, and far the better souldier, but he lay too open on his guard. He was a goodly gentleman, and of a brave and noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants; he was also of a very ancient and noble lineage, honoured through many descents, through the title of Viscount Fitzwalter. Moreover there was such an antipathy in his nature to that of Leicester, that being together in court, and both in high employments, they grew to a direct feud, and

North; a situation rendered difficult by the delicacy of her affairs with Scotland, and the rebellious spirit of her border counties. His letters during this period are very interesting, and form a most valuable portion of Mr. Lodge's Illustrations; one of them, in particular, that gentleman regards as "an inestimable curiosity." In 1572 he retired from the severer labours of public service, in which he had wasted his health, to the honourable office of Lord Chamberlain and the duties of a cabinet minister, and died at his house in Bermondsey, June 9, 1583, leaving to his heirs but the bright example of a character truly noble.—*Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. page 367, 368. *Fuller in Essex*, 330, 331.

were in continuall opposition ; the one setting the watch, the other the sentinel, each on the other's actions, and motions. For my lord of Sussex was of a great spirit, which, both backed with the queen's especiall favour, and supported by a great and ancient inheritance, could not brooke the other's empire ; in so much as the queene upon sundry occasions had somewhat to do to appease and atone them, untill death parted the competition, and left the place to Leicester ; who was not long alone without his rivall in grace, and command. To conclude this favorite, it is confidently affirmed, that lying in his last sicknesse, he gave this caveat to his friends : “ *I am now passing into another world, and I must leave you to your fortunes, and the queen's grace and goodnesse ; but beware of the gipsey (meaning Leicester) or he will be too hard for you all : you know not the beast so well as I do.*”

BURLEIGH*.

I COME now to the next, which was secretary William Cecill; for on the death of the old mar-

* This great and excellent nobleman was born at Bourne in Lincolnshire, in 1521. The incidents of his long and virtuous life are too well known to require repetition; but I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of referring the reader to Macdiarmid's *Lives of British Statesmen*. A short essay on his life and character may be found in Fuller's *Holy State*; and the *Biographia Britannica*, the anonymous *Memoirs of William Lord Burleigh*, Lloyd's *State Worthies*, and Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, may also be consulted with considerable advantage. The following character of him by one to whom he was truly a *præsidium et dulce decus*, affords a specimen of the latinity of our Camden.

Vir sane erat præstantissimus; quem, ut speciem venerandam et vultum tranquillum taceam ad honestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam, industriam, et justitiam, hominem excelsum finxit natura et doctrina excolurit. Accessit multiplex et elegans dicendi copia; nec illa affectata, sed plana et facilis; prudentia usu corroborata et moderatione summa condita, fidesque spectatissima; sed, supra omnia, singularis in Deum pietas In 'Thesaurarii' munere malas artes pecuniam corradendi aversatus, ut rem privatam, ita et publicam, industria et parsimonia auxit . . . In publicanos qui portaria curarunt severe, nec tamen rigide inspexit. Ut fiscus, tanquam lien, incresceret, et cætera membra intebescerent, juxta ut dicere solitus, nunquam probavit; et in

quesse of Winchester, he came up in his roome : a person of a most subtle and active spirit, who although he stood not at all upon contestation, or upon making a party, or affection, for he was wholly intent on her majestie's service, yet his

hoc nervos sane feliciter intendit ut princeps et populus mutuo ditescerent: nihil principi utile esse dictitans quod non cum honore conjunctum. Unde fundorum redditus augeri et veteres colonos conductoresque submoveri noluit: quod enim in re privata observavit quam ea integritate curavit, ut ille neminem, nemo illum in jus vocaverit. Sed in laudes ire nolo: . . . ut semel dicam, tanto consiliario regina erat felicissima, et salutaribus ejus consiliis respublica Anglica in æternum debet . . . Tantum virum, quem alii admiratione, ego tacita veneratione, ut in sacris olim adsolet, prosequar.—*Camdeni Annales*, vol. ii. page 773-775. *Edit. Hearne*, 8vo. 1717.

Lord Burleigh died in the presence of twenty of his descendants on the 4th of August, 1598; quum satis naturæ, satisque gloriæ, patriæ autem non satis vixisset. He was twice married; first to Mary, the sister of Sir John Cheke; and, secondly, to Mildred, the daughter of Sir Anthony Coke. The former, who died soon after her marriage, was lamented by her brother in a Greek epitaph, preserved by Strype in his *Life of Cheke*, (page 218). The latter, who was one of the most learned ladies of the age, is thus described by a cotemporary poet---

Coke is comely, and thereto
In bookes sets all her care,
In learninge with the Romaine dames
Of right she may compare.

Richard Edwardes's praze of eight ladyes of queen Elizabeth's court, published by Mr. Park (from the Cotton MS. Titus A. xxiv.) in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. page 294.

experience, dexterity, and merit, challenged a roome in the queene's favour, which eclipsed the other's overseeming greatnesse, and made it appeare that there were others who steered, and stood at the helme besides himselfe, and more stars in the firmament of her grace than *Ursa Major**.

* *Ursa Major*, or the Greater Bear, commonly called Charles's Wain, is a remarkable constellation in the northern hemisphere. Allusion is here made to the celebrated badge of the earl of Leicester; which, as is well known, was also the cognizance of Richard, "the stout" earl of Warwick, and was assumed by Duke Dudley on his elevation to that earldom (*Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire*, page 332). It is still one of the crests of the Sidneys of Penshurst; and is probably borne by other descendants of this ancient family.

Shakespeare, in *Henry the Sixth*, makes Westmoreland vow, that

Now by my father's badge, old Neville's crest,

A rampant bear chained to the ragged staff,

This day I'll wear aloft my burgonet . . .

Even to affright thee with the view thereof.

Henry VI. Part 2, Act 5, Scene 1.

Fuller relates the following anecdote concerning it. "When he (the earl of Leicester) was governor of the *Low Countries*, with the *high* title of 'his Excellency,' disusing his own coat of the green lion with two tails, [*d'or un lyon rampant vert, a la queue fourche*; *Cat. of Honour*, folio, 1622] he signed all instruments with the crest of the bear and ragged staffe. He was then suspected by many of his jealous adversaries to hatch an ambitious design to make himself absolute commander (as the lion is king of beasts) over the *Low Countries*: wherefore some, foes to his

He was borne, as they say, in Lincolne-shire, but as some aver upon knowledge, of a younger brother of the Cecills of Hereford-shire, a family that I know, though now private, yet of no meane antiquitie; who being exposed, and sent to the citie, as poore gentlemen use to do their sons, became a rich man on London-Bridge, and purchased in Lincolnshire, where this man was borne*.

faction and friends to the Dutch freedome, wrote under his crest, set up in the public places,

Ursa caret cauda; non potest esse leo.

The *bear* he never can prevail

To *lion* it for want of tail.

Fuller's Worthies of Warwick, page 118.

Hence the Warwickshire proverb, 'The bear wants a tail and cannot be a lion;' applied to those who aspire to objects above their station and ability.

* The author of the anonymous life of William Lord Burleigh (page 4), and Collins in his introduction to it (page 1, &c.), deduce his pedigree from Robert Sitsillt, one of the conquerors of Glamorgan in the fourth year of the reign of William Rufus. Camden in his remains, voce, surnames, page 148, quarto edition, 1636, seems to countenance the same opinion; but Verstegan goes still higher, and seeks his *primus avorum* amongst the Roman Cecillii (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*). No man however could better afford to forget his ancestry. Si sa vie avait moins d'éclat, on s'arretait sur la grandeur et la noblesse de sa maison; et si son portrait etait moins beau on produirait ceux de ses ancêtres. Mais la gloire de ses actions efface celle de sa naissance; et la moindre louange qu'on peut lui donner c'est

He was sent to Cambridge, and thence to the Innes of Court, and so came to serve the Duke of Somerset, in the time of his protectorship as Secretary; and having a pregnancie to great inclinations, he came by degrees, to a higher conversation with the chiefest affaires of state and counsell; but on the fall of the duke, he stood some yeares in umbrage, and without imployment, till the state found they needed his abilities. Although we find that he was not taken into any place, during Mary's raigne, unlesse, as some say, towards the last, yet the counsell severall times made use of him; and on the queen's entrance, he was admitted Secretary of State, afterward he was made Master of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treasurer, being a person of most excellent abilities; and indeed the queene began to need persons of both garbes; and so I conclude and rank this great instrument of state amongst the togati; for he had not to doe with the sword, more than as the great pay-master, and contriver of the war, which shortly followed; wherein he accomplished much, through his theoricall know-

d'etre sorti d'une ancienne et illustre maison. Flechier *Oraison funebre de Turenne*. *Œuvres*, tom. iv. page 55, 56, 8vo. Nismes, 1782.

ledge at home, and his intelligence abroad, by unlocking the counsellors of the queen's enemies.

We must now take this truth into observation, that untill the tenth of this queene's raigne, the times were calme and serene, though sometimes over-cast; as the most glorious sunneshine is subject to shadowings and droopings: for the cloudes of Spaine, and the vapours of the holy league began to disperse and threaten her felicitie. Moreover, she was then to provide for intestine storms, which began to gather even in the heart of her kingdome: all which had relation, and correspondency, each one to the other, to dethrone her, and to disturbe the publique tranquillitie, and therewithall, as a principall marke, the established religion; for the name of recusant then began first to be knowne to the world. Untill then the catholiques were not more than church papists, but now commanded by the Pope's expresse letters to appeale, and forbear church-going, as they tendred their holy father and the catholique church their mother; for it seems then the Pope had an aime to take a true muster of his children: but the queen had the greatest advantage, for she then tooke tale of her opposite subjects, their strength, and how many they were,

that had given up their names to Baal, who then by the hands of some of his priests fixed his bulls *

* The bull of excommunication is preserved in Camden. It is thus entitled :

S. D. N.

PAPÆ PII V.

SENTENTIA DECLARATORIA.

Contra Elizabetham pretensam Angliæ reginam et ei ad-
hærentes hereticos

qua etiam declarantur absoluti omnes subditi a juramento fidelitatis et quocumque alio debito: et deniceps obedientes anathemate illaqueantur.

After reciting the obstinate heresy of Elizabeth, that servant of wickedness (*flagitiorum serva*), the abolishment by her of the catholick religion, and her "monstrous" usurpation of the title of the supreme head of the church; His Holiness proceeds to declare by such courses, prædictam Elizabetham hereticam et hereticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in prædictis anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate præcisa; to deprive her of her title to release her subjects from their allegiance, and all those who obey thereafter---simili sententia anathematis innodare.

This bull was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace by one John Felton; who, scorning to fly, was seized, condemned, and executed, upon his own confession. The annalist informs us, that many of the more moderate papists tacitly disliked this bull, because no admonition had preceded it, according to law; and foresaw great mischief hanging over those who had been allowed the private exercise of religion in their own houses or had served God in the English church, without any scruple of conscience. *Camden's Annales*, book ii. ad annum, 1570. *Camden Hearnii*, vol. ii. 212.

on the gates of Paul's, which discharged her subjects from all fidelity, laid siege to the revealed faith, and so under the veile of the next successor, to replant the catholique religion: so that the queene had then a new taske and work in hand, that might well awake her best providence, and required a muster of men at armes, as well as courtships, and counsells; for the time then began to grow quick, and active, fitter for stronger motions than of the carpet and measure. And it will be a true note of her magnanimitie, that she loved a souldier, and had a propension in her nature to reward, and always to grace them; which, falling into the courtiers' considerations, they took as an invitation to win honour, together with her majestie's favour, by exposing themselves to the wars; especially when the queene and the affaires of the kingdome stode in some necessity of the souldiers. For we have many instances of the sallies of the nobilitie, and gentry, yea and of the court, and of her privy favorites, that had any touch or tincture of Mars in their inclinations, and to steale away without licence, and the queen's privitie, which had like to cost some of them deare; so predominant were these thoughts, and hopes of honour growne in them: as we may truely observe in the expeditions of Sir Philip

Sidney *, my Lord of Essex, Mountjoy, and diverse others, whose absence, and the manner of their

* In 1585 Sir Philip Sidney "projected an expedition into America, which he fashioned to become head of himself: and as the scope of it was mixt both of land and sea service, so had it accordingly distinct officers chosen by Sir Philip out of the chief persons of those martial times. The project was contrived between him and Sir Francis Drake: but this affair dropt, the queen being unwilling to hazard a person of his worth in an imploiment so remote and of so hazardous a nature; and sent a royal command to him, delivered by a peer of the realm, to quit the enterprize." —*Collins's Lives of the Sydneys*, prefixed to the Sydney papers, vol. i. page 103.

Of the "Portugal expedition," see *Stow's Annales of the Life and Raigne of Queene Elizabeth*, page 752 (edit. folio, 1631-32). The queen, as our author intimates, was highly displeased; and recalled him with the following letter.

"Essex, your sudden and undutiful departure from our presence and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is and ought to be unto us. Our great favours, bestowed upon you without deserts, have drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty; for other construction we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning, therefore, to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our privy-council, to let you know our express pleasure for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed as your duty doth bind you, increasing thereby greatly your former offence and undutiful behaviour in departing in such sort without our privy, having so special office of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon the receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delays set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure. Whereof see you fail not, as you will be

irruptions, were very distastful unto her: whereof I can hereunto add a true and pertinent story, and that of the last—Mountjoy*,—who having twice or thrice stolen away into Brittany, where under Sir John Norris he had then a company, without the queene's leave and privitie; she sent a messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the generall, to see him sent home; and when he came into the queene's presence, she fel into a kind of rayling, demanding of him how he durst go over without her leave; "serve me so again," quoth she, "and I will lay you fast enough for running; you will never leave till you are knock't on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was. You shall go when I send you; in the meane time, see that you lodge in the court, (which was then at White Hall,) where you may follow your books, read, and discourse of warre." But to our purpose.

It fell out happily to those, and as I may say, to these times, that the queene, during the calme

loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril. The 15th of April, 1589."

* Sir Charles Blunt created lord Mountjoy and earl of Devonshire. He is frequently mentioned in the *Fragmenta* by each of these names; and his character is ably delineated in a subsequent part of the work.

time of her raigne was not idle, not rocked asleepe with security; for she had beene very provident in the reparation, and augmentation of her shipping, and ammunition; and I know not whether by a fore sight of policy or any instinct it came about, or whether it was an act of her compassion; but it is most certaine she sent levies of no small troopes to the revolted States of Holland, before she had received any affront from the King of Spaine, that might seem to tend to a breach of hostilitie*; which the papists maintain to this day, was the provocation to the after wars: but omitting what might be sayd to this point, these Netherland wars were the queene's seminaries, and nurseries of very many brave souldiers; and so likewise were the civill wars of France, whither she sent five severall armies. They were the fence schooles, which inured the youth and gallantry of the kingdom, and a militia wherein they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the Spaniards, who were then turned the queene's inveterate enemies.

* Lord Brook seems to hint that Sir Philip Sidney was the author of this policy; "the same," he says, "which diverted Hannibal, and by setting fire to his own house, made him draw in his spirits to comfort his heart."—*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, by Sir Fulk Grevil, vol. ii. p. 75.

And thus have I taken into consideration her *dies halcionii*, these yeares of hers, which were more serene and quiet than those which followed; which though they were not less propitious as being touched more with the points of honour, and victory, yet were they troubled and clouded over, both with domestique and forraigne machinations; and as it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her spirits, and made her cast about her to defend, rather by offending, and by way of diversion, to prevent all invasions than to expect them; which was a piece of the cunning of the times. And with this I have noted the causes, and beginnings of the wars following, and likewise pointed to the seed-plot, from whence she took up such brave men, and plants of honour, which acted on the theatre of Mars, and on whom she dispersed the rays of her grace, which were persons, in their kinde, of rare vertues, and such as might, out of merit, pretend interest to her favors, of which ranke the number will equall, if not exceed that of her *togati*; in recomment of whom, I will proceed with Sir Philip Sidney.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY*.

HE was the son of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales, a person of

* This noblest worthy of the maiden reign,

The plume of war, with early laurels crown'd

The lovers' myrtle and the poets' bays,

was born in the delightful village of Penshurst on the 29th day of November, 1554. He received the rudiments of his education near Shrewsbury, not far from Ludlow Castle, the seat of his father's government, as president of the council of Wales. He was thence removed to the university of Oxford, of which his uncle Leicester was then chancellor; and there placed under the tuition of Dr. Thomas Thornton, a man of learning, upon whose tomb it is recorded that "Philippi Sidnæi, equitis nobilissimi, academicæ, educationi præpositus erat." He afterwards studied at Cambridge, and at the usual age obtained the then requisite licence to travel, which is dated on the 25th of May, 1572.

The first place he visited was Paris, where he narrowly escaped assassination on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew, by taking shelter in the house of the ambassador. Proceeding thence, he visited Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Belgium, where he became acquainted with the best and most learned characters who illustrated that age. Amongst these may be mentioned Tasso and Languet, the latter of whom proved to Sidney what Mentor was to Telemachus.

Having spent about three years in foreign parts, he returned to England in 1575. In the next year (the twenty-second of his

great parts, and of no meane grace with the queene: his mother was sister to my Lord of

age) he was appointed ambassador to the court of Vienna, ostensibly, to condole with the emperor upon the demise of his father; but for the real purpose of uniting the protestant princes of Germany in defence of their religion. 'This message,' says Sir Francis Walsingham, 'he verie sufficientlie performed, and the relatyng thereof was gratefullye received and well liked of her majestie... There hath not ben,' he adds, 'any gentleman, I am sure, these many yeres, that hath gon through so honourable a charge with as great commendations as he.'

We are here compelled to pass over ten interesting, though less active years of his life,—ten years devoted principally to literature and the encouragement of literary men. Spencer and Camden are not the only illustrious persons indebted to him for countenance. In 1585, the protestant inhabitants of the United Provinces offered to Elizabeth the sovereignty of that country upon condition only that she would defend them from the Spaniards. This offer she magnanimously and prudently declined; but she consented to assist them with an army, several of their chief towns being given to her as pledges. The government of one of these was committed to Sir Philip, and on the eighteenth of November he took possession of "Flushing, the key of all the Netherlands." He was immediately appointed colonel of all the Dutch regiments, and captain of a band of English soldiers; and on the arrival of Leicester was made general of horse. In this capacity he distinguished himself much by his courage and his talents; but unhappily in a skirmish before the town of Zutphen he was wounded in his thigh by a poisoned ball, (*venenato globo—Sidnæi pephus*, pag. 16.) and expired at Arnheim on the twenty-fifth day after, having nearly completed the thirty-second year of his age. A most interesting account of his last hours is to be found in the Harleian manuscript marked *Vitellius*, C. xvii, 382.

Leicester, from whence we may conjecture how

which is printed with sufficient correctness in Zouch's Biographical Memoir. He was the first subject honoured with a public funeral, and both universities published their lamentations in the languages of all nations.

The following incident, though well known, is so exceedingly beautiful that I cannot omit it. As he returned from the field of battle, pale, languid, and thirsty from excess of bleeding, he asked for water to quench his thirst. The water was brought, but had no sooner approached his lips than he instantly resigned it to a dying soldier whose ghastly countenance had attracted his notice—speaking these ever-memorable words: “This man's necessity is yet greater than mine.” Few instances, observes Doctor Zouch, can afford a more animating and affecting subject to the historical painter. (*Zouch's Life of Sidney*, page 257; *Sir Fulke Grevil's Life of Sidney*, vol. i. page 32.) Indeed, says his early friend and biographer, he was a model of true worth; a man fit for conquest, plantation, reformation, or what action soever is greatest or hardest among men; withall such a lover of mankind and goodness, that whosoever had any real parts, in him found comfort, participation, and protection to the uttermost of his power;—like Zephyrus, he giving life where he blew. The universities abroad and at home accounted him a general Mecænas of learning, dedicated their books to him, and communicated every invention or improvement of knowledge with him. Soldiers honoured him, and were so honoured by him as no man thought he marched under the true banner of others who had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs in all Christendom entertained correspondency with him. But what speak I of these with whom his own ways and ends did concur? since, to descend, his own heart and capacity were so large that there was not a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous spirit, and found him his true friend without hire, and

the father stood in the place of honour and im-

the common rendezvous of worth in his time.---*Sir Fulk Grevil*, page 25, 26.

Sir Philip's principal works are the *Arcadia*, described by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, as 'a poem in stile, though for most part in solute oration;' his highly interesting and ingenious *Defence of Poesy*, reprinted some years ago by Thomas Warton; *Astrophel and Stella*; and other poems. Of the first of these there is a full account, with specimens, in the second volume of the *Retrospective Review*; and in *Zouch's Memoir*, page 140. See *Sir Fulk Grevil's* and *Zouch's Memoirs of Sidney*, *Aikin's Annual Review*, vol. iii. p. 919, and *Lloyd's State Worthies*, vol. i. p. 385.

The reader will be pleased with the effusions of the king of Scotland, afterwards king James the First, upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney. They are extracted from an exceedingly rare work, the *Academiæ Cantabrigiæ Lachrymæ*, pag. 1. The verses of Sir Robert Naunton upon the same occasion are preserved in another part of this volume.

In Philippi Sidnei interitum, Illustrissimi Scotorum Regis Carmen.

Thou mighty Mars, the lord of soldiers brave,
And thou Minerve, that dois in wit excell,
And thou Apollo who dois knowledge have,
Of every art that from Parnassus fell,
With all your Sisters that thaireon do dwell,
Lament for him, who duellie serv'd you all;
Whome-in you wisely all your arts did mell:
Bewaile (I say) his unexpected fall.
I neede not in remembrance for to call
His race, his youth, the hope had of him ay,
Since that in him doth cruell death appall
Both manhood, wit, and learning every way;
But yet he doth in bed of honour rest,
And evermore of him shall live the best.

ployments*, so that his descent was apparently noble on both sides : and for his education, it was such as travaile, and the university could afford, and his tutors infuse ; for after an incredible proficiencie in all species of learning, hee left the academicall life for that of the court ; whither he came by his uncle's invitation, famed beforehand by a noble report of his accomplishments ; which together with the state of his person, framed by a naturall propension to armes, soone attracted the good opinion of all men, and was so highly prized in the esteeme of the queene, that she thought the court deficient without him† : and whereas through the fame of his deserts he was in election for the kingdome of Pole, she refused to further his preferment ; not out of emulation of his advancement, but out of feare to lose the jewell of her time‡. He married the daughter

* Sir Henry Sidney had the good fortune to stand in equal degree of affinity with the two rival factions which then divided the court. Sussex had married his sister Frances Sidney, and his own wife was sister to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester. He is said to have been the only person who held the two important offices mentioned in the text at the same time. He died a few months only before the death of his son.

† He was so essential to the English court, says Fuller, that it seemed maimed without his company, being a compleat master of matter and languages.—*Fuller in Kent*, page 75.

‡ The same story is related by Fuller and by Osborne, who

and sole heire of Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State; a lady destined to the bed of honour; who, after his deplorable death at Zutphen, in the Low Countries, where he was governor of Flushing at the tyme of his uncle Leicester's being there, was remarried to my Lord of Essex, and since his death, to my Lord of Saint Albans, all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and vertue.

They have a quaint and facetious conceipt of him, that Mars and Mercury fell at variance, whose servant he should be; and there is an epigrammatist that saith, that Art and Nature had spent their excellencies in his fashioning, and fearing they could not end what they had

each ascribe to different motives his not being elected. According to the former he declined the dignity, preferring rather to be a subject to Queen Elizabeth than a sovereign beyond seas: (*Worthies in Kent*, p. 75.) the latter says, "nor could she endure to see her subjects wear the titles of a forraigne prince: the cause she committed Sir Matthew of Warder Castle north west, for accepting from the German Cæsar the dignity of a Count, and denied Sir Philip Sidney the crowne of Poland."---*Traditionall Memoyres*, No 17, page 66.

It is, however, very singular, that unless my memory deceives me, Sir Fulk Grevil should have omitted a fact so conducive to the glory of his "friend and companion:" and I do not remember to have seen it mentioned by any other writer who seemed not to have relied on one of these authorities.

begun, they bestowed him on Fortune; and Nature stood mute, and amazed to behold her owne marke: but these are the petulancies of poets.

Certaine it is, he was a noble and matchlesse gentleman, and it may be sayd justly of him without the hyperboles of fiction as it was of *Cato Uticensis*, that he seemed to be born only for that which he went about, *versatilis ingenii*, as Plutarch hath it*; but to speake more of him, were to make him lesse.

* Mr. Caulfield's "elegant and correct edition," as it is mis-called by a late writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, calls this personage *Cavibicensus*; and tells us that he was *vir satilis ingenii*!

This seems to be a fatal passage; our author has himself made two mistakes in it. In the first place, the character is that of *Cato the Censor*, the grandfather of the *Romanorum ultimus*, Cato of Utica; and secondly, the observation was made by Livy and not by Plutarch. The former tells us that, *huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceret quodcunque ageret*. Lib. xxxix. cap. 40. Vide *Corn. Nepot. sec. cly. Cic. de Senectute per tot. et Plutarch. in vita Cat. Majoris*.

WALSINGHAM.

SIR Francis Walsingham, as we have sayd, had the honour to be Sir Philip Sidney's father in law. He was a gentleman at first, of a good house, and a better education, and from the Universitie travelled for the rest of his learning. He was doubtless the only linguist of his times, but best knew how to use his owne tongue, whereby he came to be imployed in the chiefest affaires of state*.

He was sent ambassador to France, and stayd there leiger long in the heate of the civil-warrs, and at the same time that Mounsier was here a suitor to the queene; and if I be not mistaken he played the very same part there, as since Gondamore did here: at his returne he was taken principall secretary of state†, and for one of the

* This celebrated statesman was born at Chiselhurst in Kent, in 1536. His various accomplishments attracted the notice of Lord Burleigh, by whom he was first introduced to state affairs in 1573.

† He was afterwards sent ambassador to the Netherlands, again to France in 1581, to treat on the proposed marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Anjou, and two years afterwards to Scotland. His skill as a diplomatist, which has been the subject of

great engines thereof, and of the times, high in his mistris, the queene's, favor, and a watchfull servant over her safety.

They note him to have certaine curiosities and secret wayes of intelligence beyond the rest*; but I must confesse, I am to seeke wherefore he suffered Parry to play so long as he did on the

great panegyric, partook too much of the intrigue and deception which characterized that period. "He could," says Lloyd, "look into the depths of men and business, and dive into the whirlpools of state. Dexterous he was at finding a secret, close in keeping it." Elizabeth would say that "Walsingham for subtilty outdid her expectation."---*Lloyd's State Worthies, Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth.*

* He was very free in the use of those obnoxious state engines by which designs sometimes traitorous, sometimes merely imaginary, were raised from their real or supposed secret recesses into open day. The other means he used were not always justifiable. "He outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and over-reached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation." "Few letters escaped his hands, whose contents he could read and not touch the seals. He had the wonderful art of weaving plots, in which busy people were so entangled that they could never escape."---*Lloyd.*

The anti-catholic spirit of the times, indeed, and the encouragement given to spies, occasioned the death of many who were guiltless of any other crime than that of being of the Romish church. That of itself was a state offence, but if, in addition to their being catholics, they were priests, there was no alternative but expatriation or Tyburn. The domestic privacies of the catholics were noted, and the priests were hunted from house to house---from one hiding place to another, by informers with the rapaciousness and pertinacity of blood-hounds.

hooke before he hoysed him up · I have been a little curious in the search thereof, though I have not to doe with the *arcana regalia imperii*, for to know is sometimes an error; and it was Ovid's crime, that he saw too much; but I hope these are collateralls, and of noe danger.

But that Parry having an intent to kill the queene, made the way of his accesse by betraying of others, and impeaching of the priests of his owne correspondency; and thereby had accesse and conference with the queene, as oftentimes private and familiar discourses with Walsingham, will not be the quere of the mystery; for the secretary might have had ends of discovery upon further maturity of the treason: but that after the queene knew Parry's intent, why she should then admit him to private discourse, and Walsingham to suffer him, considering the condition of assassins; and to permit him to goe where, and whither he listed, and only under the security of a darke sentinell set over him, was a peece of reach and hazard, beyond my apprehension. I must againe professe that I have read many of his letters, for they are common, sent to my Lords of Leicester, and of Burleigh, out of France, containing many fine passages and secrets, yet if I might have been beholding to cyphers, whereof they are full, they would have told

pretty tales of the times, but I must now cloth him, and ranke him amongst the togati, yet chiefe of those that layd the foundations of the French and Dutch warres, which was another peece of his finenesse of the times, with one observation more, that he was one of the greatest allayes of the Austrian embruements; for both himself and Stafford that preceded him might well have been compared to the fiends in the gospel, that sowed his tares in the night; so did they their seedes of division in the darke: and it is a likely report, that they father on him at his returne, that the queene speaking to him, with some sensibility of the Spanish designes on France: Madam, he answered, I beseech you be content, and feare not; the Spaniard has a great appetite and an excellent digestion; but I have fitted him with a bone for these twenty yeares, that your majesty should have noe cause to doubt him, provided that if the fire chance to be slacked which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of the English fuell which will revive the flame*.

* Walsingham, who died in 1590, is said by Camden to have brought himself so far in debt that he was privately buried in the evening at St. Paul's without any funeral solemnity; and Bohun states that he died so poor that the queen gave his daughter her portion.

WILLOUGHBY.

My Lord Willoughby was one of the first of the queene's swordmen. He was of ancient extract of the Bartyes, but was more enobled by his mother, who was Duchess of Suffolk*. He was a great master of the art military, and was sent

* Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, called the brave Lord Willoughby, was born at Wesel, in Germany (it is said in a church porch of that city), on the 12th October, 1552, during the *peregrinations* of his parents, who had left England in consequence of their religious opinions being suspected by Bishop Gardiner, and who suffered great hardships in their travels; from this circumstance their son was named Peregrine. On the death of his mother he claimed the dignity of Lord Willoughby, of Eresby, which she had enjoyed in her own right, and was admitted to it in 1580. Two years afterwards he was sent with the insignia of the Order of the Garter to Frederick II. King of Denmark, before whom he delivered a Latin oration on his introduction. He was at the siege of Zutphen, and in a skirmish with the garrison overthrew Cressiack, the commander-in-chief of the horse, and took him prisoner. He succeeded Leicester as general of the English forces in the Netherlands, and distinguished himself by his gallant and successful defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, when besieged by the Prince of Parma. He died in 1600, at Berwick, of which he was governor.---*Holinshed. Collins's Peerage.*

generall into France, and commanded the second army of five the queene had sent thither in ayde of the French. I have heard it spoken, that had he not slighted the court, but applyed himselfe to the queene, he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her grace, and it was his saying, though it did him no good, that he was none of the *reptilia*, intimating, that he could neither creep nor crouch, neither was the court his element, for indeed he was a great souldier; so was he of a suitable magnanimity, and could not brooke the obsequiousnesse and assiduitie of the court; and as he was then somewhat descending from youth, happily he had *animum revertendi*, and to make a safe retreat.

BACON.

AND now I come to another of the togati, Sir Nicholas Bacon*, an arch-peece of wit, and of wisdom. He was a gentleman, and a man of law, and had a great knowledge therein; whereby together with his after part of learning and dexterity, he was promoted to be keeper of the great seale, and being of kin to the treasurer Burleigh, had also the helpe of his hand to bring him to the queene's great favor, for he was abundantly facetious; which tooke much with the queene†,

* Chiselhurst gave birth to another eminent statesman of this reign.---Sir Nicholas Bacon (son of Robert Bacon, Esq.), who was born there in 1510. He commenced his education early at Cambridge, and completed it at Paris. On his return to England he was entered of Gray's Inn, and applied himself to the study of the law with great diligence and success. His first office was that of attorney to the Court of Wards, which was conferred upon him by Henry VIII. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth he received the honour of knighthood, and the custody of the great seal.

† "At supper she would divert herself with her friends and attendants; and if they made her no answer, she would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would

when it suited with the season, as he was well able to judge of the times. He had a very quaint saying, and he used it oftentimes to good purpose, "*that he loved the jest well, but not the losse of his friend,*" and that though he knew that *unusquisque suæ fortunæ faber* was a true and a good principle, yet the most in number were those that marred themselves; but I will never forgive that man that loseth himselfe to be rid of a jest*.

He was father to that refined wit, which since hath acted a disasterous part on the publique stage, and of late sate in his father's roome, as

then also admit Tarleton, a famous comedian and a pleasant talker, and other such like men to divert her with stories of the town, and the common jests or accidents, but so that they kept within the bounds of chastity and modesty."---*Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 352.

* When the queen told him that his house at Redgrave was too little for him, "Not so, madam," said he, "but your majesty has made me too great for my house." Towards the latter part of his life he became exceedingly corpulent, which made the queen say merrily, that *Sir Nicholas's soul lodged well*. Indeed, such was his obesity, that after walking from Westminster Hall to the Star Chamber (but a short distance) he was usually so much out of breath, that the counsel forebore speaking until he had recovered himself, of which he gave notice by knocking with his staff.

He obtained the character of a weighty, as well as a witty speaker, occasionally making use of set speeches, in which he was very felicitous. He died on the 20th February, 1579.

lord chancellor. Those that lived in his age, and from whom I have taken this little modell of him, give him a lively character, and describe him to be another Solon, and the Sinon of those times; such a one as Oedipus was in dissolving of riddles. Doubtlesse he was an able instrument; and it was his commendation that his head was the mawle, for it was a very great one, and therein he kept a wedge, that entred all knotty peeces that came to the table.

NORRIS.

AND now I must fall back to smooth and plaine a way to the rest that is behind, but not from my purpose. There were about this time two rivalls in the queene's favor; old Sir Francis Knowles, comptroller of the house, and Sir Henry Norris *, whom she had called up at Parliament, to sit with the Peeres in the higher house, as Lord Norris of Rycot, who had married the daughter and heire of the old Lord Williams of Tame, a noble person, and to whom, in her adversitie, the queene had beene committed to safe custodie, and from him had received more than ordinary observances. now such was the goodnesse of the queene's nature, that she never forgot the good turnes received from the Lord Williams, neither was she unmindfull of this Lord Norris, whose father, in her father's time, and in the business of her mother,

* He was knighted at his own house, at Rycot, in 1566, and in the 14 Eliz. was sent ambassador to France, in which office he acquitted himself with reputation, and to the satisfaction of the queen.

died in a noble cause, and in the justification of her innocence *.

My Lord Norris† had by this lady an ample issue, which the queene highly respected, for he had sixe sonnes, and all martiall and brave men. The first was William the eldest, and father to the Earle of Bark-shire, the second Sir John, vulgarly called Generall Norris, the third Sir Edward, the fourth Sir Thomas, the fifth Sir Henry, and the sixth Maximilian, men of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of military affayres, and to speake in the character of their merit, they were persons of such renowne and worth, as future times must out of duty owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

* Henry Norris, who, on the accusation of a criminal familiarity with Anne Boleyn, was tried, condemned, and executed in the 28 Henry VIII. It is said that the king sent for him and offered him his life, if he would confess his guilt, an offer which he rejected, saying, "That in his conscience he thought the queen innocent; and that he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent person." The king, upon hearing this, cried out, "*Hang him up then; hang him up then.*"

† He died in 1601.

KNOWLES.

SIR Francis Knowles was somewhat neare of the queene's affinitie*, and had likewise a competent issue, for he had also William his eldest son, and since Earle of Banbury, Sir Thomas, Sir Robert, and Sir Francis, if I be not a little mistaken in their names and marshalling; and there was also the Lady Lettice, a sister of these, who was first Countesse of Essex, and after of Leicester; and these were also brave men in their times and places; but they were of the court and carpet, and not led by the genius of the camp.

Betweene these two families, there was, as it falleth out amongst great ones and competitors of favor, no great correspondency, and there were

* He married Catherine, daughter of William Carey, Esq. by Mary, daughter of Thomas Bulleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, and sister to Queen Anne Bulleyn. He retired to Germany in the reign of Queen Mary on account of his religious opinions. He was first vice-chancellor to the queen, then captain of the guard, and afterwards treasurer of the household and knight of the garter. He died in 1596.--*Banks' Dormant and Extinct Peérage. Camden's Elizabeth.*

some seedes, either of emulation or distrust, cast betweene them, which had they not beene disjoyned in the residence of their persons, as that was the fortune of their employments, the one part attending the court, and the other the pavillion, surely they would have broken out into some kind of hostilitie, or at least they would have intertwined and wrestled one in the other, like trees circled with ivy; for there was a time when both these fraternities met at court, there passed a challenge betweene them at certaine exercises, the queene and the old men being spectators, which ended in a flat quarrell amongst them all: and I am perswaded, though I ought not to judge, that there were some reliques of this feud, that were long after the causes of the one family's almost utter extirpation and the other's improspertie; for it was a knowne truth, that so long as my Lord of Leicester lived, who was the maine pillar on the one side, as having marryed the sister, the other side tooke no deepe root in the court; though otherwise they made their wayes to honour by their swords; and which is of more note, considering my Lord of Leicester's use of men of armes, being shortly after sent governor to the revolted states, and no souldier himselfe, is that he made no more account of Sir John Norris,

a souldier then deservedly famouse * and trained from a page under the discipline of the greatest captaine in Christendome, the Admirall Castillion, and of command in the French and Dutch warres almost twenty yeares : and it is of further observation, that my Lord of Essex, after Leicester's decease, though initiated to armes, and honoured by the generall in the Portugall expedition †, whether out of instigation, as it hath beene thought, or out of ambition and jealousie to be eclipsed and overshadowed by the fame and splendor of this great commander, never loved him in sincerity.

Moreover, it is certain that he not only crushed, but also quelled, upon all occasions, the growth of this great man and his famous brethren, and therewith drew on his own fatall end, by undertaking the Irish action ‡, in a time when he left the

* He was alike resolute in attack and skilful in retreat. Whilst general of the English forces in the Netherlands, he had three horses killed under him, in an engagement with Don John of Austria.

† This expedition was projected by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, in 1589, almost entirely at the expense of themselves and other private individuals, with the view of annoying the Spaniards, and of placing Don Antonio, a natural son of Portugal, on the throne of that kingdom which he claimed; but the hopes which he held out of a rising of the Portuguese was not justified by the event, and the expedition failed in that object.

‡ Norris disappointed the expectation which his high reputa-

court empty of friends and full fraught with his professed enemies. But I forbear to extend my selfe in any further relation upon this subject, as having left some notes of truth in these two noble families, which I would present, and therewithall touched somewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the narration would have admitted an omission.

tion had raised, when, in 1595, he was sent into Ireland with the title of *General of the Army in Ulster in the Lord Deputy's absence*. He was completely duped by Tyrone, the vexation occasioned by which, together with the circumstance of Lord Bourg being appointed lord deputy over his head, and himself ordered to his presidency of Munster, an office he had held for some time, occasioned his death in 1597.

PERROT.

SIR John Perrot* was a goodly gentleman of the sword. He was of a very ancient descent, as an

* Sir John Perrot was born in 1527, and after receiving an education suitable to his rank, was sent to London at about eighteen years of age, to the house of the Marquis of Winchester, then lord treasurer. He had no sooner arrived than his impetuous spirit engaged him in a trial of strength with the Lord Abergeveny, a fierce and hasty young nobleman then residing at the lord treasurer's house. And not long afterwards it was Mr. Perrott's fortune to go into Southwark, taking but a page with him, where he fell out with two of Henry the Eighth's yeomen of the guard. They both drew on him, and fought with him;---he defended himself valiantly and was wounded. The king being informed that a beardless youth had fought with two of his servants, sent for him and demanded his name and kindred. The boldness and valour of the youth pleased the king so much, that he required him to remain at court, and promised him preferment. The king, however, died before he performed his promise. At the coronation of Edward VI. Perrott was made a knight of the bath, and was much esteemed by the young king. He accompanied the Marquis of Southampton into France on his embassy to treat of a marriage between the king and a daughter of France. The author of the History of Sir John Perrott relates the following anecdote of him during his residence in that country. "The marquis being a nobleman that delighted much in all activities, and did keep always the most excellent even that could be found in most kindes of activities and

heire to many subtracts of gentry, especially from Guy De Brian, of Lewherne; so was he of a very

disportes, which the King of France understanding, and being willing to shew him such pleasure as was used in that countrie, on a time he brought the marquis to hunt the wild boare, and being in chase, it fell out that a gentleman charging the boare with his chasing staff, did not hitt right, and so the boare was ready to run in upon hym. Sir John Perrott perceiving him to be in perill, came unto his rescew, and with a broad sword which he then wore, gave the boare such a blow, that he did well neare part the head from his shoulders. The king of France, who stood in sight of this, came presently unto hym, took hym about the middle, and embracing hym, called him *Beaufoile*; whereat he supposed the king came to try his strength, and taking the king also about the middle, lifted hym somewhat high from the ground: with which the king was nothing displeased, but profered hym a good pension to serve hym." On the accession of Queen Mary he was committed to the Fleet for entertaining heretics in his house in Wales, but was soon released, and the queen shortly afterwards granted him the castle and lordship of Carey, in Pembrokeshire, for which he had applied. He was one of the four gentlemen appointed to carry the state canopy over Queen Elizabeth at her coronation. In 1572 he was sent against the rebels in Ireland as president of Munster. In 1573 he returned to England, and some time afterwards he was suddenly sent for out of Pembrokeshire to take the command of a fleet intended to intercept the forces designed for Ireland by the King of Spain. Sir John accordingly prepared for the voyage. He had with him fifty men in orange-coloured cloaks, many of them gentlemen of birth and quality. "As they lay in their barge against Greenwich, where the queen kept her court, Sir John Perrot sent one of his gentlemen ashore with a diamond as a token unto his mistress Blanch Parry, willing hym to tell hir, that a diamond coming unlooked for, did always bring good looke with it; which the queen hearing of, sent Sir

vast estate, and came not to court for want; and to these advancements he had the endowments of courage, and height of spirit, had he alighted on the alloy and temper of discretion; the defect whereof with a native freedome and boldnesse of speech drew him on to a clouded setting, and layd him upon the spleene and advantage of his enemies, amongst whom Sir Christopher Hatton was professed. He was yet a wise man, and a brave courtier, but rough and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being by his constellations destined for armes. There is a quære of some denotations, how he came to receive the foyle, and that in the catastrophe; for he was strengthened with honourable

John Perrot a fair jewell hanged by a white cypresse, signifying withall that as longe as he wore that for hir sake, she did beleve, with God's helpe, he should have noe harme. Which message and jewell Sir John Perrot receved joyfully, and he returned answer unto the queene, that he would weare that for his soveraigne's sake, and doubted not, with God's favor, to restore hir shipps in saffetie, and either to bring the Spaniards (if they came in his way) as prisoners, or else to sinck them in the seas. Soe as Sir John Perrot passed by in his barge, the queene looking out at a window shaked hir fanne and put out hir hand towards hym, who making a low obeysance, put the scarffe and jewell about his necke which the queene had sent hym." Sir John encountered no other enemy in his cruise than a storm from which he with great difficulty escaped.---*History of Sir John Perrot.*

alliances, and the prime friendships of the court ; my Lords of Leicester and Burleigh were both his contemporaries and familiars ; but that there might be, as the adage hath it, falsitie in friendship ; and we may rest satisfied, that there is no dispute against fates : and they quote him for a person that loved to stand too much alone and on his owne legs, of too often recesses and continuance from the queene's presence, a fault which is incompatible with the wayes of court and favor. He was sent lord deputy into Ireland *, as it was then apprehended, for a kind of haughtinesse in spirit and repugnancy in counsell, or as others have thought, as the fittest person then to bridle the insolencies of the Irish, and it is probable that both those, considering the sway that he would have had at the board, and that he had in the queen's favour, concurred and did alike conspire his remove and ruin. But into Ireland he went, where he did the queene very great and many services, if the surplusage of the measure did not abate the value of the merit, as aftertime found it to be no paradox ; for to save the queen's purse, which both herselfe and my Lord Treasurer Burleigh ever tooke for good service, he imposed

* In 1583, and continued to hold that situation until 1588.

on the Irish the charges of bearing their own armes, which both gave them the possession, and taught them the use of weapons, which proved in the end most fatal work, both in the profusion of blood and treasure.

But at his returne, and upon some accompt sent home before, touching the estate of that kingdome, the queene poured out assiduous testimonies of her grace towards him; till by his retreate to the castle of Cary, where he was then building, and out of a desire to be in command at home, as he had beene abroad, together with the hatred and practise of Hatton, then in high favour, whom he had not long before bitterly taunted for his dancing; he was accused for high treason, and for high wordes and a forged letter condemned; though the queene, on the newes of his condemnation, swore by her wonted oath, that the jury were all knaves, and they delivered it with assurance, that on his return to the tower, after his triall, he said with oaths and with fury to the lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, "What! will the queene suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries?" which being made knowne to the queene, and the warrant for his execution tendered, and somewhat enforced, she refused to signe it, and swore

he should not die, for he was an honest and faithful man: and surely, not altogether to set our rest and faith upon tradition, and old reports, as that Sir Thomas Perrot's father was a gentleman of the privy chamber to King Henry the Eighth, and in the court married to a lady of great honour and in the king's familiarity, which are presumptions to some men; but if we goe a little further, and compare his picture, his qualities, gesture, and voyce, with that of the king, whose memory yet remains amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a sureptitious child of the blood royall.

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the tower, and that, shortly after his decease, Sir Thomas Perrot, his son, then of no meane esteeme with the queene, having before married my Lord of Essex his sister, since Countesse of Northumberland, had restitution of his land; though after his death also, which immediately followed, the crowne resumed the estate, and tooke advantage of the former attainder; and to say the truth, the priest's forged letter was at his arraignment thought but as a fiction of envy, and was soone after exploded by the priest's owne confession; but that which most exasperated the queene, and gave advantage to his enemies, was, as Sir Walter

Rawleigh observes, words of disdain, for the queene by sharpe and reprehensive letters had nettled him, and thereupon sent others of approbation, commending his service, and intimating an invasion from Spaine, which he no sooner perused, but he sayd publicquely in the great chamber, at Dublin:—"Loe, now she is ready to bepissee her selfe, for feare of the Spaniards, I am againe one of her white boys;" which words are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his soveraigne, and such as may serve for instruction to persons in place of honour and command, to beware of the violences of nature, and especially the exorbitance of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this double observation, the one of the innocency of his intentions exempt and cleare from the guilt of treason and disloyaltie, the other of the greatnesse of his heart; for at his arraignment he was so little dejected with what might be alledged and proved against him, that rather he grew troubled with choller, and in a kind of exaspiration he despised his jury, though of the order of knighthood, and of the speciall gentry, clayming the priviledge of tryall by the peeres, and barons of the realme: so prevalent was the humour of his native genius, and haughtinesse of spirit, which accompanied

him to his last, and still without any diminution of courage therein, it burst in peeces the cords of his magnanimitie; for he died suddainely in the tower, and when it was thought the queene did intend his enlargement, with the restitution of his possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the nobility*.

* There seems little doubt that Sir John Perrot was innocent of the more serious part of the accusation against him. His chief offence was his intemperate expressions emanating from a chole-
rick disposition. After judgement was pronounced upon him, Sir John said that he wished not to live, by reason of his infamy in his country, and that his name and blood was corrupted, which had been of ancient continuance, and never before that time spotted: and said, Woe be unto me that am the first of my house and name that ever was attainted or suspected, and shook his hand: and having a carnation in his hand, he said, I care not for death the value of this flower; I fear it not; and wished he had never offended God more than the queen's majesty.---*State Trials*, vol. i. p. 195. *Ed.* 1776.

" Sir John Perrot was a man in stature very tall and big, exceeding the ordinary stature of men by much, and almost equal to the mightiest men that lived in his time: his body was very compact and proportionable through all partes. As he did exceed most men in stature, so did he in strength of body. His hair was auborne until it grew gray in his elder years: his countenance full of majestie, his eyes marvellous piercing, and carrying a commanding aspect, insomuch that when he was angrie, he had a very terrible visage or looke, and when he was pleased or willing to shew kindness he then had as amiable a countenance as any man. ---*History of Sir John Perrot.*

HATTON.

SIR Christopher Hatton * came to the court, as his opposite Sir John Perrot used to say, by the gal-

* He was the third and youngest son of William Hatton of Holdenby in Northamptonshire, was a gentleman commoner of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, but did not take any degree. The queen took him into her band of fifty gentlemen pensioners, and afterwards, Camden says, "for his modest sweetness of condition, into the number of the gentlemen of her privy chamber, made him captain of her guard, vice chamberlain, and one of her privy council, and lastly made him lord chancellor of England, and honoured him with the order of St. George. A man he was of a pious nature, a great reliever of the poor, of singular bounty and munificence to students and learned men, (for which reason those of Oxford chose him chancellor of their university) and one who in the execution of that high and weighty office of lord chancellor of England could satisfy his conscience in the constant integrity of his endeavours to do all with right and equity. Hatton's advancement to this high office (in 1587) gave great offence to the lawyers, some of whom refused to plead before him, 'until,' says Fuller, 'partly by his power, but more by his prudence, he had convinced them of their errors and his abilities.'" His elevation, indeed, was promoted by his enemies, who thought that the trouble attending the office would remove him from court, and the difficulties (to which they supposed him unequal) gradually estrange the queen from him. What he wanted in knowledge, however, was supplied by his own abilities and the assistance and advice of Dr.

liard; for he came thither as a private gentleman of the innes of court in a maske, and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into the queene's favor. He was first made vice Chamberlaine, and shortly after advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor: a gentleman, that besides the graces of his person and dancing, had also the additament of a strong and subtile capacitie, and that could soone learne the discipline and garbe, both of the times and court; and the truth is, hee had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy; and he was a meere vegetable of the court that sprung up at night and sunk againe at his noone.

Swale, a civilian whom he consulted on all cases of moment. His death is in some measure ascribed to the queen's rigorous exaction of a sum of money which he had received for tenths and first-fruits. When he fell ill, indeed, the queen repented of her severity, and went in person to comfort him, but it was of no avail, the chancellor's wounded spirit could not be healed, and he died in 1591. He had the character of being of a tolerant spirit in matters of religion, and was in consequence subjected to the charge of favouring the church of Rome.

NOTTINGHAM*.

My Lord of Effingham though a courtier betimes,
yet I find not that the sunshine of her favor brake

* Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, son of William Lord Howard, was introduced into affairs of state in the lifetime of his father, being sent ambassador to France in 1559, and in 1569 was general of the horse under the Earl of Warwick in the army sent against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. In the following year he commanded the fleet sent to convoy the Lady Anne of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, to Spain. Hackluyt, in the dedication to Lord Effingham, prefixed to his Voyages, relates, that "when the emperor's sister, the spouse of Spain, with a fleet of one hundred and thirty sail, stoutly and proudly passed the narrow seas, your lordship, accompanied with ten ships only of her majesty's royal navy, environed their fleet in most strange and warlike sort, enforced them to stoop gallant, and to vail their bonnets for the Queen of England." Lord Effingham was installed knight of the garter, and made lord chamberlain of the household in 1574, and ten years afterwards made lord high admiral, an office which he enjoyed two and thirty years. He was also made justice itinerant for life of all the forests south of Trent. In 1601 he was sent to reduce Drury-house to which Essex had retired, and in the same year was constituted one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl marshal. On the accession of James he was continued as lord admiral, and at his coronation was made high steward. He resigned the office of lord admiral in 16th James, and died in 1624. He is said to have lived in the most splendid style, keeping seven houses at one time.

out upon him untill she tooke him into the ship, and made him high admirall of England. For his extract, it might suffice that he was the son of a Howard, and a Duke of Norfolk. And for his person, as goodly a gentleman as the times had any, if nature had not been more intentive to compleat his person, than fortune to make him rich: for the times considered, which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he died not wealthy, yet the honestest man, though it seemes the queene's purpose was to tender the occasion of his advancement, and to make him capable of more honour: for at his returne from the Cadiz voyage* and action, she conferred it upon him, creating him Earle of Nottingham, to the great discontent of his colleague, my Lord of Essex, who then grew excessive in the appetite of her favor, and, the truth is, so exorbitant in the limitation of the soveraigne aspect, that it much allienated the queene's grace from him, and drew others, together with the admirall, to a combination, and to conspire his ruine; and though, as I have heard it from that party, I meane the old admirall's factions, that it lay not in his power to hurt my Lord of Essex, yet he had more fellowes,

* In 1596, in which he was commander-in-chief at sea, and Essex on land.

and such as were well skilled in the setting of the ginne: but I leave this to those of another age, it is out of doubt, that the admirall was a good, honest, and brave man, and a faithful servant to his mistress, and such a one as the queene out of her own princely judgement knew to be a fit instrument for her service, for she was a proficient in the reading of men, as well as bookes, and his sundry expeditions as that aforementioned, and of eighty-eight*, do better expresse his worth, and manifest the queene's trust, and the opinion she had of his fidelitie and conduct.

Moreover the Howards were of the queene's alliance and consanguinitie by her mother, which swayed her affections, and bent it towards this great house; and it was a part of her naturall propention to grace and support ancient nobilitie where it did neither intrench, nor invade her interest; for in such trespasses she was quicke and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever, as we may observe in the case of the duke† and my Lord of Hartford; whom she much favoured, and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden

* The defeat of the Spanish armada.

† The Duke of Norfolk by his scheme of marrying the Queen of Scotland, and Hertford by his connection with Lady Catherine Grey, mentioned in p. 30.

fruit; the fault of the last being, in the severest interpretation, but a trespasse of incroachment, but in the first it was taken as a ryot against the crowne, and her owne soveraigne power, and as I have ever thought the cause of her aversion against the rest of that house, and the duke's great father-in-law, Fitz-Allen, Earle of Arundell, a person in the first ranke of her affections before these and some other jealousies made a separation betweene them. This noble lord, and Lord Thomas Howard, since Earle of Suffolk, standing alone in her grace, and the rest in her umbrage.

PACKINGTON.

SIR John Packington was a gentleman of no meane family *, and of forme and feature no wayes disabled; for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier, and for the time which he stayed there, which was not lasting, very high in her grace; but he came in and went out, through disassiduitie, drew the curtaine betweene himselfe, and the light of her grace, and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery; and they say of him, that had he brought lesse to her court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought;

* Sir John Packington, his great uncle, received a remarkable grant from Henry the Eighth, in the twentieth year of his reign, and amongst other things, "that he the said John Packington, for the time to come, shall have full liberty during his life to wear his hat in his presence, and his successors, or of any other person whatsoever, and not to be uncovered on any occasion or cause whatsoever against his will and good liking."

for he had a time on it, but he was an ill husband of opportunitie *.

* Sir John Packington, called by Queen Elizabeth her Temperance, by Leicester his Modesty, and from his ability in all manly exercises, "Lusty Packington," was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. He first attracted the queen's attention at Worcester, and was there invited to court, where he lived in great splendour and reputation, and with an equipage not inferior to some of her greatest officers. His expensive habits of living at length made it necessary for him to retire into the country to retrieve his affairs. The queen having heard of it, granted him the forfeited estates of a Suffolk gentleman worth about eight or nine hundred pounds a year; but Sir John, on going to take possession, was so moved with the sorrows of the lady and her children, that, with the greatest generosity, he immediately repaired to the queen, and besought her to excuse him from enriching himself by the calamities of that gentleman, who had fallen by a combination of his enemies, and would not leave the queen until he had obtained his request to have it restored to them. This generosity was amply compensated by a grant of several manors which the queen subsequently made to him. After discharging his debts he retired altogether to the country, became a great builder, lived splendidly, and died wealthy in 1625.

HUNSDON.

My Lord of Hunsdon * was of the queene's nearest kindred, and on the decease of Sussex, both he and his son successively tooke the place of Lord

* He was the son of William Cary and Lady Mary Boleyn, the sister of Queen Anne Boleyn. He was created Baron of Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign; in 1561 was made knight of the garter himself, and the following year was sent to invest the King of France with it. When Leonard Dacres, in execution of a design of rescuing the Queen of Scots, had seized the castles of Naworth and Graystock, and raised a body of three thousand men, Lord Hunsdon, with the garrison of Berwick (of which he had been made governor), marched against them, and after an obstinate fight, defeated them and retook the castles. For this service the queen sent him a letter of thanks written by the secretary of state, with a postscript in her own hand-writing, in which she expresses herself in this way: "I doubt much, my Harry, whether that the victory given me, more joyed me, or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory; and I assure you, for my countrie's the first might suffice, but for my heart's contentation, the second more pleaseth me; it likes me not a little, that with a good testimony of your faith, there is seen a stout courage of your mind that more trusted to the goodness of your quarrel, than to the weakness of your number."

Chamberlaine *. He was a fast man to his prince, and firme to his friends and servants; and though he might speake big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he not the more dreadfull, but lesse harmfull, and far from the practise of the Lord of Leicester's instructions, for he was downe-right †;

* In 1585, and the same year he was appointed warden of the marches towards Scotland.

† Several anecdotes are related of Lord Hunsdon which corroborate this part of his character. One or two of them I have selected. "When his retinue, which in those times was large, would have drawn on a gentleman that had returned him a box on the ear, he forbad them in these soldier-like terms: You rogues, cannot my neighbour and myself exchange a box on the ear, but you must interpose."---*Lloyd*. "He was three times in election to be Earl of Wiltshire, a title which in some sort belonged unto him, in the right of Mary his mother, but still some intervening accident retarded it. When he lay on his death-bed, the queen gave him a gracious visit, causing his patent for the earldom to be drawn, his robes to be made, and both to be laid down upon his bed; but this lord (who could dissemble neither well nor sick) replied, 'Madam, since you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying.'---*Collins*. Lord Hunsdon having delayed proceeding to Berwick after he was commanded to repair thither, in consequence of his wanting a loan of money for which he had applied in vain to the queen, was threatened by her majesty with the loss of the office, and even imprisonment. He immediately wrote to the lord treasurer Burleigh, requesting that he would obtain permission for him to resign it, and "for any imprisonment," says he, "she can use to me, it shall redound to her dishonour, because I neither have nor will deserve it, and therefore it shall not trouble me." He wrote little less to the queen herself.

and I have heard those that both knew him well, and had interest in him, say merrilie of him, that his Lattin and dissimulation were alike; and that his custome of swearing, and obscenitie in speaking, made him seeme a worse Christian than he was, and a better knight of the carpet than he should be. As he lived in a ruffling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our fathers were wont to call men of their hands; of which sort he had many brave gentlemen that followed him, and yet was he not taken for a popular and dangerous person. And this is one that stood amongst the togati, of an honest stout heart, and such a one as upon occasion would have fought for his prince and country; for he had the charge of the queene's person, both in the court, and in the camp at Tilbury.

RAWLEIGH.

SIR Walter Rawleigh*, was one that it seemes fortune had picked out of purpose, of whom to make an example, or to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do; for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro to greatnesse, and from thence downe to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman. Not that he was lesse; for he was well descended, and of good alliance; but poore in his beginnings: and for my Lord of Oxford's jest of him for a jack of an upstart†, we all know

* Was the fourth son of Walter Raleigh, by his third wife Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, and was born about the year 1552, at a farm called Hayes, in the parish of Budley, in Devonshire.

† The jest alluded to is, that whilst the queen was playing on the virginals, Lord Oxford remarked on the motion of the keys, that "when jacks start up, heads go down," in allusion to Raleigh's favour and Essex's execution. The following jest of Tarleton is related by Bohun: when that facetious comedian was acting a play before the queen, he pointed at Sir Walter Raleigh and said, "See, the knave commands the queen;" for which he was corrected by a frown from her majesty.

it savoured more of emulation, and his humour, than of truth; and it is a certaine note of the times, that the queene in her choyce, never tooke in her favor a meere new man, or a mechanicke, as Comines observes of Louis the Eleventh, who did serve himselfe with persons of unknowne parents, such as were Oliver the barber, whom he created Earle of Dunnois, and made him *ex secretis conciliis*, and alone in his favor, and familiarity.

His approaches to the university, and innes of court*, were the groundes of his improvement, but they were rather incursions than sieges, or settings downe, for he stayd not long in a place, and being the youngest brother, and the house diminished in its patrimony, he foresaw his own destiny, that he was first to roll through want and disabillitie to subsist, before he came to a repose,

* He studied at Oxford, but how long he remained there is uncertain. Some doubts have been started as to whether he ever was a student of the Temple. On his trial he calls down vengeance upon himself if ever he had read a word of the law or statute before he was a prisoner in the Tower. It is probable that, like many other young men in those times, he took chambers there because it was considered a sort of finish to a gentleman's education, and calculated to qualify him for the business of the world; there being a poem on Gascoigne Steele Glass, by Walter Rawley, of the Middle Temple, most probably the knight.

and as the stone doth by long lying gather moss, he was the first that exposed himselfe into the land service of Ireland* : a militia which did not

* Naunton is accused of a mistake in ascribing to Raleigh these two expeditions into Ireland. Indeed Cayley, in his life of him, accounts for nearly the whole time from his seventeenth year, about which age he probably left Oxford, to his undoubted expedition into Ireland, secondly mentioned by our author. Raleigh's first enterprize appears to have been in 1569, when he was one of the hundred gentlemen sent by Queen Elizabeth to the assistance of the Queen of Navarre. He returned to England in 1575, and two years afterwards accompanied Sir John Norris to the Netherlands. In 1579 he sailed with his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on a voyage for colonizing certain parts of North America, who meeting with the Spaniards, was after a severe action obliged to return. In the following year we find him, as Captain Raleigh, active against the rebels in Ireland, and in 1582 at court: in the same year the dispute between Lord Grey and him was probably brought to a hearing.

The discoveries of the Spaniards awakened in the breast of Raleigh a spirit of enterprize, which was extinguished only by death. About this time he planned his first voyage of discovery, which he laid before the queen and her council, and in 1584 he received letters patent for himself and his heirs and assigns to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them should seem good. He immediately equipped two ships, the command of which he entrusted to Captains Amadas and Barlow who discovered the country to which the queen afterwards gave the name of Virginia. The difficulties which Raleigh encountered in establishing the colony at length induced him to assign his colonial rights to a company of merchants, reserving a fifth part of all gold and silver ore.

then yield him food and rayment, for it was ever very poore. Nor had he patience to stay long

Raleigh now began to rise rapidly in the queen's favour. He had been knighted a short time before this; he was now appointed lord warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall, and became an active member of parliament. Shortly afterwards he was honoured with the situation of a gentleman of the privy chamber. He accompanied Drake and Norris in the "journey of Portugal," and in 1592 he formed the design of intercepting the plate-fleet, for which purpose he fitted out a naval force himself to which the queen added two men of war. They succeeded in taking a Portuguese ship, the largest prize that had ever been brought into England. About this time Raleigh's progress in the queen's favour was checked by his amour with Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour, whom he afterwards married. Her majesty was so exceedingly enraged that she confined him in the Tower for two months. Sir Walter thought it expedient to exhibit certain extravagant signs of grief at his disgrace, which had the effect of mitigating in some degree the queen's displeasure, and he shortly afterwards applied for, and obtained a grant of the castle and manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire. The sun of royal favour did not however shine upon him with its former brightness, and he therefore turned his thoughts to other projects. His adventurous mind was roused, and his cupidity excited by the reported wealth of Guiana, possessed by the Spaniards. He undertook a voyage to this land of promise in 1595, but the advanced state of the season compelled him to return without doing much in the discovery of the gold mines of which he was more especially in search: he, however, brought home with him some specimens of the gold ore of the country. In the attack of Cadiz, in 1595, Raleigh had the command of one of the four squadrons into which the fleet was divided, on which occasion he behaved with extraordinary bravery. In the next year he succeeded, after many fruitless attempts, in getting himself reinstated

there, though shortly after he returned thither againe, under the command of my Lord Gray, but

in his place of captain of the guard, of which his heinous offence had deprived him. The next enterprize in which Raleigh was engaged was that called "the Island Voyage," in which he was rear-admiral, Essex being commander of the land and sea forces. It was determined in a council of war that these two commanders should attempt Fayal, but the squadrons being separated by some accident, Sir Walter arrived before the town first. He waited three days for Essex, and on the fourth, the earl not appearing, he determined, by the advice of the council, to attack the place alone, which he accordingly did, and succeeded in taking it. Essex being persuaded, on his arrival, that Raleigh had done this to deprive him of the glory of the action, cashiered and confined some of the officers for their share in the attempt; but by the interference of Lord Thomas Howard the officers were reinstated and amity apparently restored between the earl and the rear-admiral. In 1600 Raleigh received his last honour, being made governor of Jersey. With the death of Elizabeth, died the prosperity of Sir Walter Raleigh. In the first year of her successor's reign he was brought to the bar for high treason, through the contrivance of his political adversaries, and after a trial which was a disgrace to the judicature of the country, was found guilty and sentenced to the death of a traitor. After more than twelve years imprisonment in the Tower, and another and unsuccessful voyage to those golden climes which still glittered before his imagination, he was sacrificed by James the First to the Spanish alliance, on the ground of his late offences, and not his former treason. He was beheaded on the twenty-ninth October, 1618, for acts of hostility to those Spaniards, for his supposed amity towards whom he was condemned. This unexampled proceeding is not justified or extenuated by the long and elaborate declaration which the king and council were so undignified as to publish in justification of his majesty's conduct; the offences specified in this remarkable

with his owne colours flying in the field; having in the interim cast a new chance both in the Low Countries, and in a voyage to sea; and if ever man drew virtue out of necessity, it was he. And therewith was he a great example of industry; and though he might then have taken that of the merchant to himselfe, *per mare, per terras currit mercator ad Indos*, he might also have said, and truly, with the philosopher, *omnia mea mecum porto*; for it was a long time before he could bragg of more than what he carried at his backe: and when he got on the winning side, it was his commendation that he tooke paines for it, and underwent many various adventures, and that it may appear how he came up *per ardua*,—

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
not pulled up by chance, or by any gentle admittance of fortune, I will briefly describe his native parts and those of his own acquiring, which were the hopes of his rising.

He had in the outward man a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person; a strong naturall wit, and a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could

documentare the sacking of the town of St. Thomas, and Raleigh's attempt to escape after he arrived in England, and perceived what sort of justice he was likely to meet with.

set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjunct of some generall learning, which, by diligence, he enforced to a great augmentation, and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observors both of men and of the times; and I am somewhat confident, that amongst the second causes of his growth, that variance between him and the Lord General Gray, in his second voyage to Ireland, was a principal one, for it drew them both over to the councill table, there to pleade their owne causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversie, I know not; but hee had much the better in the manner of telling his tale: insomuch as the queene and the lords tooke no slight notice of the man, and his parts, for from thence he came to be knowne, and to have accesse to the queene and to the lords; and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply and learn the way to progression. And whether or no, my lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the queene, which would have done him no harme, I doe not determine; but true it is, he had gotten the queene's ear in a trice; and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to heare his reasons to her demands; and the truth is, she

tooke him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea those that he relyed on began to take this his suddaine favor for an alarum, and to be sensible of their owne supplantation, and to project his; which made him shortly after sing,

Fortune my foe, why dost thou frowne,
so that finding his favor declining, and falling into recesse, he undertooke a new peregrination to leave the *terra infirma* of the court, for that of the waves, and by declining himselfe, and by his absence, to expel his and the passion of his enemies, which in court was a strange devise of recovery, but that he then knew there was some ill office done him, yet he durst not attempt to amend it any other way than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as to thinke of him. Howsoever he had it alwayes in mind, never to forget himselfe; and his device tooke so well, that at his returne he came in, as rams do, by going backward, with the greater strength; and so continued to the last, great in her favor and captaine of her guard, where I must leave him; but with this observation, though he gained much at the court, he tooke it not out of the exchequer, or meerely out of the queene's purse, but by his wit, and by the helpe of his prerogative, for the queene

was never profuse in delivering out of her treasure, but payd most and many of her servants, part in money, and the rest with grace; which as the case stood, was then taken for good payment, leaving the arreares of recompence due to their merit, to her great successor, who payd them all with advantage*.

* It would have been more judicious to have introduced this piece of eulogy in another place.

GREVILLE.

SIR Foulke Greville *, since Lord Brooke, had no meane place in her favor, neither did he hold it for any short time, or term; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, and the smoothest time without rubs, of any of her favorites. He came to the court in his youth and prime, and that is the time, or never: he was a brave gentleman, and honourably descended from Willoughby, Lord Brooke, and admirall to Henry the

* This gentleman was the son of Sir Fulke Greville, by Anne his wife, the daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and was born in 1554. In the second year of James the First he obtained a grant of Warwick Castle, then in a very dilapidated condition, but in the repairs and embellishments of which he expended a considerable sum of money, and it is still one of the most perfect and beautiful Gothic castles in the kingdom. He was successively made under-treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the king's privy council, and, in the 18 James the First, was advanced to the peerage by the title of Lord Brook of Beauchamp's Court. He was stabbed in the back in his bed-chamber by one Haywood, who had spent the greater part of his life in his service, and who thought himself not sufficiently rewarded. The villain immediately afterwards went into another room and killed himself. Sir Fulke Greville died of the wound the thirtieth of September, 1628, aged seventy-four years.

Seventh. Neither illiterate, for he was, as he would often professe, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney*, and there are now extant some fragments of his pen, and of the times, which do interest him in the muses†, and shewe the queene's election had ever a noble conduct, and it's motions rather out of vertue and judgment than of fancy.

I finde that he neither sought for, nor obtained any great place of preferment in court, during all his time of attendance. Neither did he need it; for he came thither backed with a plentiful fortune, which as himselfe was wont to say, was better held together by a single life, wherein he lived and died, a constant courtier, and servant of the ladies.

* He was prouder of this distinction than of the favours of sovereigns, or the honors of state; and he has recorded it in an inscription on his tomb, which for nobleness and simple grandeur has never been surpassed—"Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney."

† He was the author of two tragedies, a treatise of human learning, another of wars, and one hundred and nine sonnets under the title of *Cœlica*. His tragedies are made the vehicles of political disquisitions instead of the expression of passion. His poems abound in "wise saws and modern instances;" are pregnant with intellect, but cold and lifeless in imagination. He also wrote the life of his friend, Sir Philip Sidney, to which I have before referred. Besides being himself a scholar, he was a great patron of learned men, and amongst others of Camden, Bishop Overall, and Speed.

ESSEX.

My Lord of Essex*, as Sir Henry Wotton notes him, a gentleman of great parts, and partly of

* Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the son of Walter Earl of Essex, and of Lettice the daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, was born in the year 1567. At twelve years of age he was sent to Cambridge by his guardian Lord Burleigh, and at the end of three years took his degree of master of arts. At the age of seventeen he reluctantly quitted the country, for the quiet pleasures of which he had acquired a taste, for the feverish atmosphere of the court, where his reception was as favorable as could be expected or desired. He accompanied his father-in-law, the Earl of Leicester, in 1585, into Holland, and for his gallant bearing had the honor of knight-banneret conferred upon him. On Leicester's being made lord steward, he succeeded to the office of master of the horse, at Tilbury camp was created general of the horse, and was subsequently invested with the order of the garter. He joined Drake and Norris in the Portugal expedition, and was sent by the queen into Normandy, in 1591, with four thousand men and a small park of artillery to the assistance of Henry the Fourth. In a skirmish before the walls of Rouen his youngest brother, Walter, was slain. He was commander of the land forces in the Cadiz expedition, when the lord admiral refusing to attack the Spanish fleet unless possession was first taken of the town, he attempted to disembark his men, but there was such a heavy sea that it was totally impracticable to effect it, and as it was, some of the boats were overset and the men drowned. This mode of attack having

his times, had his introduction by my Lord of Leicester, who had married his mother, a tye of

been previously resolved upon, Essex continued the attempt until Sir Walter Raleigh came on board his ship and successfully protested against persevering in a resolution which seemed to involve the general ruin. The admiral at length consented to attack the fleet in the first place, upon hearing which Essex threw his hat into the sea for joy. This dangerous enterprize was executed with the greatest bravery, the commanders of the different ships eagerly contending for the post of danger and of honour. With the first peep of day Raleigh weighed anchor, taking the start of all the others. Sir Walter thus describes the emulation of the officers:---“My lord admiral having also a disposition to come up at first, but the river was so choked as he could not pass with the Ark, came up in person into the Nonpareil with my Lord Thomas [Howard]. While I was speaking with the earl, the marshal [Sir Francis Vere] who thought it some touch to his much esteemed valour to ride behind me so many hours, got up a-head my ship; which my Lord Thomas perceiving, headed him again, myself being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding myself from being the first, to be the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrust in between my Lord Thomas and the marshal, and went up farther a-head than all them before, and thrust myself athwart the channel, so as I was sure none should outstart me again for that day. My Lord General Essex thinking his ship's side stronger than the rest, thrust the Dreadnought aside, and came next the Warspite [Sir Walter's ship] on the left hand, a-head all that rank but my Lord Thomas. The marshal, while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side toward him, to draw himself up equally with me; but some of my company advertising me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place, whom I guarded all but his very prow from the sight of the enemy---.” This proved

affinitie, which besides a more urgent obligation might have invited his care to advance him, his fortunes being then through his father's infelicitie growne low; but that the son of a Lord Ferrers of Chartly, Viscount Hereford, and Earle of Essex, who was of the ancient nobilitie, and formerly in the queene's good grace, could not have roome in her favor, without the assistance of Leicester, was beyond the rule of her nature, which as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the nobility: sure it is that he no sooner appeared in court, but he took with the queene and the courtiers, and I beleieve they all could not chuse but looke through the sacrifice of the father, on his living son, whose image by the remembrance of former passages, was afresh, like the bleeding of men murdered,

a very destructive affair to the Spaniards, the town being taken and the fleet destroyed either by the English or themselves.

In the island voyage, his next enterprize, mentioned in the note p. 107, when Essex was urged to bring Raleigh to a court-martial for attacking Fayal without the presence of the general; he replied with characteristic generosity, "that I would do if he were my friend." In 1597 the queen created him earl marshal as a satisfaction for his mortification at the lord admiral's being created Earl of Nottingham for his services in the Cadiz expedition. On the death of Lord Burleigh he was made chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

represented to the court, and offered up as subject of compassion to all the kingdome.

There was in this young lord, together with a most goodly person * a kinde of urbanity or in-

* His personal appearance and private habits are described by Sir Henry Wotton in his parallel between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham. "The earl was a pretty deal the taller and much the stronger and of the abler body: but the duke had the neater limbs and free delivery; he was also the uprighter and of the more comely motions: for the earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards than downwards, and he was so far from being a good dancer, that he was no graceful goer. If we touch particulars, the duke exceeded in the daintiness of his leg and foot and the earl in the incomparable fairness and fine shape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took from his father; for the general air the earl had the closer and more reserved countenance, being by nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at meals, when others are least: insomuch as he was wont to make this observation of himself, that to solve any knotty business which cumbered his mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his first appetite with two or three morsels, after which, he sat for a good while silent: yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention, which shewed that when he listed he could licence his thoughts;" and again, "the earl as he grew more and more attentive to business and matter, so less and less curious of clothing, insomuch as I do remember those about him had a conceit, that possibly sometime when he went up to the queen, he might scant know what he had on: for this was his manner; his chamber being commonly stived with friends or suitors of one kind or other, when he gave his legs, arms, and breast to his ordinary servants to button and dress him with little heed, his head and face to his barber, his eyes to his letters, and ears to

nate courtesy, which both won the queene, and too much tooke up the people to gaze on the new adopted son of her favour; and as I goe along, it will not be amisse to take into observation two notable quotations: the first was a violent indulgence of the queenes', which is incident to old age, where it incounters with a pleasing, and suitable object, towards this great lord, which argued a non perpetuity; the second was a fault in the object of her grace; my lord himselfe, who drew in over fast like a child sucking a too uberous nurse, and had there beene a more decent decorum observed in both, or either of these, without doubt the unity of their affections had beene more permanent, and not so in and out, as they were, like an instrument ill-tuned, and lapsing to discord.

The greater error of the two, though unwilling, I am compelled to impose on my Lord of Essex, or rather on his youth, and none of the least of the blame on those that stood sentinell about him, who might have advised better, but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they like-

petitioners, and many times all at once; then the gentleman of his robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his closet, and after a short prayer he was gone: only in his baths he was somewhat delicate."

wise had sucked in the most of their lord's receipts, and so like Cæsars, would have all or none: a rule quite contrary to nature, and the most indulgent parents, who may expresse more affection to one in the abundance of bequests, yet cannot forget some legacies, and distributions, or devidences to others of their begetting, and how hatefull partiality is, and proves, daily experience tells us; which common consideration might have framed to their hands a maxime of more discretion, for the conduct, and management of their new grand lord and master.

But to omit that of infusion, and to do right to truth; my Lord of Essex, even of those that truely loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an ingrosser both of fame and favour; and of this without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred bones of the dead, I shall present the truth of a passage, yet in memory.

My Lord Mountjoy, who was another child of her favour, being newly come to court and then but Sir Charles Blunt, (for my Lord William, his elder brother, was then living) had the good fortune to run one day very well at tilt, and the queene was therewith so well pleased, that she sent him in token of her favour, a queene at chesse, of gold richly enamelled, which his ser-

vants had the next day fastened to his arme with a crimson ribband, which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying with his cloak cast under his arme, the better to command it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed: Sir Fulk Greville told him it was the queene's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him; whereat my Lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, Now I perceive every foole must have a favour. This bitter and publique affront came to Sir Charles Blunt's eare, at which he sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my lord, and they met neare Marybone Parke, where my lord was hurt in the thigh, and disarmed: the queene missing the men, was very curious to know the truth, and when at last it was whispered out, she sware by God's death it was fit that some one or other should take him downe, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no ruling of him; and here I note the inition of my lord's friendship with Mountjoy, which the queene her selfe did then conjure.

Now for fame we need not go far, for my Lord of Essex having borne a grudge to Generall Norris, who had unwittingly offered to undertake

the action of Brittain, with fewer men than my lord had before demanded; on his returne with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the only man for the Irish wars, wherein my Lord of Essex so wrought by despising the number and qualitie of the rebels, that Norris was sent over with a scant force, joyned with the reliques of the veteran troopes of Brittain; of set purpose, and as it fell out, to ruine Norris, and the Lord Boroughs, by my lord's procurement, sent at his heeles, and to command in chiefe, and to confine Norris only to his government at Munster, which broke the heart of the generall to see himselfe undervalued, and undermined, by my lord and Boroughs, which was, as the proverbe speakes, *imberbes docere senes*.

Now my Lord Boroughs, in the beginning of his prosecution, died, whereon the queene was fully bent to send over my Lord Mountjoy, which my Lord of Essex utterly disliked and opposed with many reasons and by arguments of contempt towards Mountjoy, (his then professed friend, and familiar,) so predominant was his desire to reape the whole honour of closing up that war, and all other; now the way being paved, and opened and planed by his owne workmanship, and so handled, that none durst appeare to

stand for the place; at last, and with much adoe, he obtained his owne ends*, and therewith his fatall destruction, leaving the queene and the court, where he stood impregnable, and firme in her grace, to men that long had sought and watched their times to give him the trip, and could never finde any opportunity but this of his absence, and of his owne creation, and these are true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but hurried, and transported with an over desire, and thirstinesse after fame, and that deceitfull fame of popularity; and to help on his catastrophe, I observe likewise two sorts of people that had a hand in his fall: First was the soldiery which all flocked unto him, as it were foretelling his mortality, and are commonly of blunt, and too rough counsellors, and many times dissonant from the

* His commission of Lord Lieutenant passed the great seal on March 12, 1598. His misconduct in Ireland, and his project for displacing his enemies, would have been more easily pardoned by the queen, than the vulgar and opprobrious words reported by Sir Walter Raleigh, to have been spoken by him. "The late Earl Essex," says he, "told Queen Elizabeth, that her conditions were as crooked as her carcase, but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him but for that speech." *Raleigh's Prerogative of Parliaments*. This nobleman was beheaded on the 25th February 1601.

nature of the court and state : the other sort were of his family, his servants and his owne creatures, which were bound by the rule of safety and the obligation to fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that boate, wherein they themselves were carried and not to suffer it to fleet and run on ground with those empty sailes and tumors of popularity and applause : methinks one honest man or other, which had but the brushing of his clothes, might have whispered thus in his eare ; my lord, looke to it, this multitude that followes you will either devoure you, or undoe you ; do not strive to over-rule all, for it will cast hot-water, and procure envy, and if your genius must have it so, let the court and the queene's presence be your station, for your absence must undoe you ; but as I have sayd they had suckt too much of their lord's milke, and instead of withdrawing they blew the coales of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the spirit of glory, yea and mixed the goodnesse of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is ever accompanied with a destinie of the same fate ; of this number there were some of insufferable natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate advice, such as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbad, amongst whom Sir Henry Wotton notes

his secretary Cuffe, as a vile man, and of a perverse nature: I could also name others, that when he was in the right course of recovery, and settling to moderation, would not suffer a recess in him, but stirred up the dregs of those rude humors, which, by time and affliction, out of his owne judgement he thought to repose, and give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude this noble lord, as a mixture betweene prosperity, and adversity, once the child of his owne mistris' favour, but indeed the son of Bellona.

BUCKHURST.

My Lord Buckhurst* was of the noble house of Sackville, and of the queene's consanguinity; his father was Sir Richard Sackvill, or as the people then called him fill-sack, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast patrimony left to his son, which he in his youth spent the best part, untill the queene, by her frequent admonitions, diverted

* This elegant scholar, poet, and statesman, was the son of Richard Sackville, and half-cousin to the queen, his grandfather having married the sister of Sir Thomas Boleyn. He was born in 1536, and towards the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford, and afterwards to Cambridge, where he proceeded M.A. He entered himself of the Middle Temple, and during his residence there, obtained considerable reputation as a poet by his *Induction to a Mirror for Magistrates* which was published in 1557. He obtained a seat in the House of Commons in the reign of Queen Mary, and in the first parliament of Elizabeth. About this time he visited France and Italy, and during his tour was imprisoned at Rome, but on the death of his father he procured his release and returned to England, where the queen received him very graciously. In 1567 he was knighted and raised to the peerage, with the title of Lord Buckhurst.

the torrent of his profusion *. He was a very fine gentleman, of person and endowments both of art and nature, but without measure magnificent, till on the turne of honour, and the allay that age and good counsell had wrought upon those immoderate courses of his youth, and that height of spirit inherent to his house, and then did the queene as a most judicious, indulgent prince, when she saw the man growne settled,

* Another reason has been assigned for the reformation of his prodigal habits. "The story goes, that coming to an alderman of London who had gained great penny-worths by his former purchases of him (being now in the wane of his wealth) to wait the coming down of the alderman so long, that his generous humour being sensible of the incivility of such attendance, resolved to be no more beholding to wealthy pride, and presently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his estate."

In 1571 he was ambassador to France, and 1587 the queen appointed him ambassador extraordinary to settle the dispute between the United Provinces and the Earl of Leicester. His conduct in this affair did not meet with the approbation of the earl, and he appealed to the queen, who recalled the ambassador, and even confined him to his house for a twelve month. He received the honor of the garter in 1590, and in the succeeding year was by the queen's recommendation chosen chancellor of Oxford.

In 1598 he was employed with Lord Burleigh to negotiate a peace with Spain, and the same year, on the death of the latter nobleman, he was made lord treasurer, an office which he continued to hold under James, who also created him Earl of Dorset. He died at the council board in April 1608.

and stayd ; gave him an assistance, and advanced him to the treasurer-ship, where he made amends to his house, for his mis-spent time, both in the increasement of his estate and honour which the queene conferred upon him, together with the opportunity to remake himselfe, and thereby to shew that this was a child that should have a share in her grace, and taste of her bounty.

They much commend his elocution, but more the excellency of his pen *, for he was a scholar and a person of a quick dispatch, faculties that

* Besides the poem before mentioned, he was the author of the first regular English tragedy, a composition which has been highly praised by Sir Philip Sidney and Pope. It is written in a stately measure, with great clearness and precision, but is full of tedious political disquisitions. The Induction is distinguished by its poetical imagery and harmonious versification, as the following specimen will shew :

“ And next in order sad old age we found,
His beard all hoar, his eyes hollow and blind ;
With drooping chere still poring on the ground,
As on the place where nature him assign’d
To rest, when that the sisters had untwined
His vital thread, and ended with their knife
The fleeting course of fast declining life.

‘ There heard we him, with brok’n and hollow plaint,
Rue with himself his end approaching fast,
And all for nought his wretched mind torment
With sweet remembrance of his pleasures past,
And fresh delights of lusty youth fore-waste :

yet run in the blood, and they say of him, that
his secretaries did little for him, by the way of in-

Recounting which, how would he sob and shriek,
And to be young again of Jove beseek !

‘ But an the cruel fates so fixed be,

That time fore-past cannot return again,

This one request of Jove yet prayed he :

‘ That in such wither’d plight and wretched pain,

As Eld (accompanied with his loathsome train)

‘ Had brought on him, all were it woe and grief,

‘ He might awhile yet linger forth his life ;

‘ And not so soon descend into the pit

‘ Where death, when he the mortal corpse hath slain,

‘ With reckless hand in grave doth cover it ;

‘ Thereafter never to enjoy again

‘ The gladsome light, but in the ground ylain

‘ In depth of darkness waste and wear to nought,

‘ As he had ne’er into the world been brought.’

‘ But who had seen him sobbing, how he stood

Unto himself, and how he would bemoan

His youth fore-past (as though it wrought him good

To talk of youth, all were his youth fore-gone)

He would have mused, and marvelled much whereon

This wretched age should life desire so fain.

And know full well life doth but lenth’n his pain.

‘ Crook-back’d he was, tooth-shaken, and blear-eyed ;

Went on three feet, and sometimes crept on four,

With old lame bones that rattled by his side,

His scalp all piled and he with eld forelore ;

His wither’d fist still knocking at death’s door,

Trembling and drivelling as he draws his breath---

For brief the shape and messenger of death.

dictment, wherein they could seldome please him, he was so facete and choyce in his phrases, and style, and for his dispatches, and for the content he gave to suitors, he had a decorum seldome put in practise, for he had of his attendance that tooke into a roll the names of all suitors, with the date of their first addresses, so that a fresh man could not leape over his head, that was of a more ancient edition, except in the urgent affayres of the state.

I finde not that he was any way insnared in the factions of the court, which were all his times strong, and in every man's note, the Howards and the Cecills of the one part, and my Lord of Essex, &c. on the other, for he held the staffe of the treasury fast in his hand, which made them all once in a yeare to be beholding to him, and the truth is, as he was a wise man, and a stout, he had no reason to be a partaker, for he stood sure in blood, and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the queene's service: and such were his abilities, that she received assiduous proofes of his sufficiency and it hath been thought she might have more cunning instruments, but none of a more strong judgment, and confidence in his wayes, which are symptomes of magnanimitie, whereunto methinks his motto hath some kind of reference, *aut nun-*

quam tentes, aut perfice. As though he would have characterized in a word, the genius of his house, or expresse somewhat of a higher inclination, than lay within his compasse. That he was a courtier is apparent, for he stood alwaies in her eye, and her favour.

MOUNTJOY.

Mr Lord Mountjoy* was of the ancient nobility, but utterly decayed in the support thereof, through his grandfather's excesse in the action of Bulleigne, his father's vanitie in search of the Philosophers'-stone, and his brother's untimely prodigallity; all which seemed by a joynt conspiracie to ruinate the house, and altogether to anihilate it. As he came from Oxford he tooke the Inner Temple in the way to Court, whither he no sooner came but he had a pretty strong kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his owne, and much more of the secrets

* Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was born in 1563. He commenced his political career as a member of parliament in 1585, and the following year received the honor of knighthood. He was one of the young gentlemen who hired ships at their own expence to join the English fleet when in pursuit of the Spanish Armada. In 1589, he proceeded master of arts at Oxford. In 1594 he was made governor of Portsmouth, and the same year succeeded, on the death of his brother, to the title of Lord Mountjoy. He was installed knight of the garter in 1597, and was lieutenant of the land forces in the "island voyage," as well as commander of the ship *Defiance*.

of those times ; he was then much about twenty yeares of age, browne haired, of a sweet face, and of a most neate composure in his person ; the queene was then at White-hall, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashions of the court, and the queene had soone found him out, and with a kind of an affected frowne, asked the Lady Carver what he was ; she answered shee knew him not, insomuch an enquiry was made one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the queene, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy ; this inquisition, with the eye of majesty fixed upon him as she was wont to doe, and to daunt men she knew not, stirred the blood of the young gentleman, insomuch as his colour went and came, which the queene observing, called him, and gave him her hand to kisse, encouraging him with gracious words, and new lookes, and so diverting her speech to the lords and ladyes, she sayd that she no sooner observed him, but she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions of pittie towards his house, and then againe demanding his name, she said, faile you not to come to the court, and I will bethinke my selfe, how to do you good ; and this was his inlet, and the beginning of his grace ; where it falls into consideration,

that though he wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractives, as being a good peece of a scholler, yet were those accompanied with the retractive of bashfulnesse, and naturall modesty, which as the wane of his house, and the ebb of his fortune then stood, might have hindred his progression, had they not been reinforced by the infusion of soveraigne favour, and the queenes' gracious invitation ; and that it may appear how low he was and how much that heretique necessity will work in dejected souls and good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scant, until his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the court, and then it was no more than a thousand markes per annum, wherewith he lived plentifully, in a fine garbe, and without any great sustentation of the queene, during all her times.

And as there was in his nature a kind of backwardnesse which did not befriend him, nor suite with the motion of the court, so there was in him an inclination to armes, with an humour of travelling, and gadding abroad, which had not some wise man about him laboured to remove, and the queene layd in her command, he would, out of his owne natural propension, have marred his owne market, for as he was growne by

reading, whereunto he was much addicted, to the theory of a souldier, so was he strongly invited by his genius to the acquaintance of the practise of war, which were the causes of his excursions, for he had a company in the Low-Countries, from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the queene, but somewhat restless in honourable thoughts, he exposed himselfe again and againe, and would presse the queene with the pretences of visiting of his company so often till at length he had a flat denyall; yet he stole over with Sir John Norris into the action of Bretaine, which was then a hot, and active war; whom he would alwaies call his father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his ende, so contrary he was in his esteeme, and valuation of this great commander, to that of his friend, my Lord of Essex, till at last the queene began to take his decessions for contempt, and confined his residence to the court, and her owne person, and upon my Lord of Essex's fall, so confident she was in her owne princely judgment, and the opinion she had conceived of his worth, and conduct that she would have this noble gentleman and no other, to finish and bring the Irish war*

* He was made lord lieutenant in 1599. After reducing the rebels to great distress, Tyrone voluntarily submitted to Lord

to a propitious end; for it was a propheticall speech of her owne, that it would be his fortune, and his honour, to cut the thred of that fatall rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave, wherein she was not deceived, for he atchieved it, but with much paines, and carefulnesse, and not without the fears, and many jealousies of the court and times, wherewith the queene's age, and the malignity of her setting times, were replete, and so I come to his deare friend Mr. Secretary Cecill, whom in his long absence from court, he adored as a saint, and counted him his only Mecenas, both before and after his departure, and during all the time of his command in Ireland, well knowing that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or marr him.

Mountjoy, who brought him to England in 1603. James having succeeded to the throne before his arrival, continued him as lord lieutenant, and the same year made him one of his privy council, and created him Earl of Devonshire. He also received several other marks of the king's sense of his great services. In 1605 he was married by Mr. Laud, afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Penelope, daughter of Walter Earl of Essex, during the life of her husband Lord Rich, by whom she had had several children. Laud was at this time chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, and as he alleges, ignorant that she was the wife of another man; indeed, he regarded the celebration of this marriage as the greatest misfortune of his life, marking the day of it in his diary as one to be particularly observed.

ROBERT CECILL.

SIR Robert Cecill *, since Earle of Salisbury, was the son of the Lord Burleigh, and the inheritor of

* This crooked politician was born in 1550. His first appearance in a diplomatic character was in 1585, when he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Derby, ambassador at the court of France. On his return to England he was knighted, and in 1596 made under secretary to Walsingham. In 1598 he was sent ambassador to France, and the following year made master of the Court of Wards. He was more able than honest, and more cunning than wise. He did his duty, better as a minister than a man. He entangled Essex in the cobweb of his subtlety, and ruined his friend Raleigh; taking an active part against him on his trial, with expressions of pretended friendship and the most contemptible duplicity. Finding the health of Elizabeth declining, he began to pay his court to James, with whom he carried on a private correspondence, which it is remarkable was never discovered, although it would have been on the following occasion if the minister had not possessed extraordinary presence of mind. As her majesty was taking the air with him on Blackheath, a courier rode up to deliver a packet. The queen hearing it came from Scotland, was anxious to know its contents, upon which Cecil, that he might not excite suspicion by delay, called for a knife, and having cut it open, pretended that the papers "looked and smelt ill-favoured, by coming out of a filthy budget." He, therefore, advised that they should be exposed to the air before

his wisdom, and by degrees successor of his favour and places, though not of his lands, for he had Sir Thomas Cecill his elder brother, since created Earle of Exeter, he was first secretary of state, then master of the court of wards, and, in the last yeare of her raigne, came to be lord treasurer*, all

she read them, which gave him an opportunity of taking away his own letters.

This last mentioned policy answered his purpose very well. James held his first court at Theobalds, the country seat of the secretary, and a few days afterwards created him Baron of Essenden. In 1604 he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Cranbourne, of Cranbourne, and the following year Earl of Salisbury; installed knight of the garter and elected chancellor of the University of Cambridge. James used to call him his "little beagle," and Antonio Perez "Robert the devil." He was held in high esteem by Lord Sackville, who left him some jewels by his will, which concludes his character in these words---"Of whose excelling virtues and sweet conditions so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last will and testament; that since the living speech of my tongue, when I am gone from hence, must then cease and speak no more, but yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same."

* This appears to be a mistake, probably of some transcriber, for Naunton was not likely to be ignorant on such a point. Cecil succeeded Lord Buckhurst as lord treasurer on the 4th May, 1608, indeed, James, before his arrival in England, ordered the renewal of the patent for treasurer for Lord Buckhurst's life. *Biog. Brit. Hume*. He was a careful guardian of the public purse, and on one occasion when James had given a warrant for 20,000*l.* to Sir Robert Carr, he

which were the steps of his father's greatness and of the honour he left to his house. For his person he was not much beholding to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside ; for his inside it may be sayd, and without solecism, that he was his father's owne son, and a pregnant proficient in all his discipline of state : he was a courtier from his cradle, which might have made him betimes ; yet he was at the age of twenty and upwards, far short of his after prooffe, but exposed, and by change of clymate he soone made shew what he was and would be.

He lived in those times wherein the queene had most need and use of men, and amongst many notable ones this was a chiefe, as having taken his sufficiency from his instruction which begat him the tutorship of the times and court, which

devised this stratagem to shew his majesty the extent of his extravagance. He ordered the money to be placed, in silver, in an apartment at Salisbury house through which the king had to pass to dinner. On beholding the treasure, his majesty enquired whose it was ; to which Cecil replied, " your majesty's, before you gave it away," upon this he swore that he had been abused, as he never meant to bestow on any one so prodigious a donation, and putting aside about 300*l*. protested that Carr should have no more." The treasurer, however, was contented by keeping back half of it.

were then academies of art and cunning; for such was the queene's condition from the tenth or twelfth of her raigne, that she had the happinesse to stand up, whereof there is a former intimation though environed with many and more enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous practises, than any prince of her times, and of many ages before. Neither must we in this her preservation attribute too much to human policies, for God in his omnipotent providence had ordained not only secondary means as instruments of the work, but by an evident demonstration, that the same work which she acted was a well pleasing work of his own, out of his peculiar will had decreed the protection of the work-mistriss, and thereunto added his abundant blessing upon all and whatsoever she undertooke, which is an observation of satisfaction to myselfe, that she was in the right, though to others now breathing under the same forme and frame of her government, it may not seeme an animadversion of any worth, but I leave them to the peril of their owne folly, and so come againe to this great minister of state, and the staffe of the queene's declining age, who though his little crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head

peece of a vast extent, and therein it seems nature was so diligent to compleat one, and the best part about him, as the perfection of his memory, and intellectuals; she tooke care also of his senses, and to put him in *linceos oculos*, or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of Argus so to give unto him a prospective sight, and for the rest of his sensitive vertues, his predecessor Walsingham, had left him a receipt to smell out what was done in the conclave.

And his good old father so well seene in mathematics, as that he could tell you throughout Spaine, every part, every port, every ship with their burthens, whither bound, what preparations, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsel and resolution: and that we may see, as in a little mappe, how docible this little man was, I will present a taste of his abilities.

My Lord of Devonshire upon certainty that the Spaniard would invade Ireland with a strong army, had written very earnestly to the queene, and to the councell, for such supplies to be timely sent over, that might enable him both to march up to the Spaniard, if he did land and follow on his prosecution, without diverting his intentions against the rebels; Sir Robert Cecill, besides

the generall dispatch of the councell (as he often did) writ thus in private, for these two then began to love dearely.

“ My lord, out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing, I must in private put you out of doubt, for I know you cannot be sensible, otherwise than in the way of honour, that the Spaniards will not come unto you this yeare, for I have it from my owne, what his preparations are in all parts, and what he can do; for be confident he beareth up a reputation, by seeming to imbrace more than he can gripe, but the next yeare be assured hee will cast over to you some forlorne troopes, which how they may be reinforced beyond his present abilitie, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgement, but I believe out of my intelligence, that you may expect the landing in Munster, and the more to distract you, in several places, as at Kingsale, Beerehaven, and Baltimore; where you may be sure, comming from sea, they will first fortifie, and learne the strength of the rebels before they dare take the field: howsoever, as I know you will not lessen your care over your defences, and whatsoever lies in my power to doe you and the publique good service, rest thereof assured.”

And to this I could adde much more, but it

may suffice to present thus much of his abilities in the penne, that hee was the crafts-master in forraigne intelligence; and for domestique affaires, as he was one of those that sate at the helme to the last of the queene, so was he none of the least in skill, and in the true use of the compasse, and I shall only vindicate the scandall of his death, and conclude him, for he departed at Saint Margaret's, neare Marleborough, at his returne from Bathe, as my Lord Viscount Chamberlaine, my Lord Clifford, myselfe, his son, and son in law, and many more can witnesse, but that the day before he sounded on the way, and was taken out of his litter, and laid into his coach, was a truth out of which that falshood concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his worth.

VERE.

SIR Francis Vere* was of the most noble and most ancient extract of the Earls of Oxford, and it

* This most valiant soldier, the second son of Geoffrey Vere, and grandson of John Vere Earl of Oxford, was born in 1554. His first military service was in Holland, with the forces commanded by the Earl of Leicester. He was at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he was knighted by Lord Willoughby. He continued in the service of the States during nearly the whole of his life with the exception of a few intermissions, when he was called into the more immediate service of his own country. On occasion of the Cadiz expedition he was sent for into England, and having joined the fleet was chosen to supply the place of lieutenant-general under the title of lord-marshal. He was one of the foremost in the attack against the fleet (he himself says, the very first who commenced the attack, and Sir Walter Raleigh says the same thing of himself). Sir Francis also joined Essex in "the Island Voyage," and was highly offended at Lord Mountjoy being appointed lieutenant-general, a post which he thought belonged to him; he, however, retained the title of lord-marshal. In the same year (1597) he was made governor of Brill, one of the cautionary towns in the hands of the queen. On the threat of an invasion from Spain, he was again called into England, where he remained until the apprehension of it was over. At the battle of Newport, the command of one of the wings of the army was assigned to him, although, in fact, he had the whole charge both of horse and foot. At the commencement of the action, he was

might be a question whether the nobility of his house, or the honour of his atchievements might

shot through the leg, and, a quarter of an hour afterwards, through the thigh of the same limb. His horse fell dead under him; he, however, continued his exertions, inspiriting and rallying the troops till the victory was complete. The last and most famous achievement of Sir Francis, was his defence of Ostend, in 1601, when he was constituted general of the army of the States. With about seventeen hundred men, (four thousand being necessary for the complete defence of it), he maintained the place against the Spanish army, computed at twelve thousand. At the expiration of eight months, he was superseded by Frederick Dorp. The following remarkable occurrences are related, by the continuer of Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, to have taken place at this memorable siege, which lasted, on the whole, upwards of three years:--

"The archduke made his approaches as near unto Sand Hill as it was possible for the haven, which was the more probable place of doing any good upon the town, and therefore he had, ever since the beginning of the siege, bent the most of his great shot upon it, if it were possible to have made a breach, but all had hitherto produced no other effect than the fortifying the Sand Hill bulwark, instead of beating it down; for, by this time, it was so thick with bullets, that the ordnance could scarcely shoot without a tautologie, and hitting its former bullets, which, like an iron wall, made the latter fly in pieces up into the air; yea, the bullets in it were so many, that they left not room to drive in palisadoes, though pointed with iron, and some there were that would have undertaken to make the bulwark new, if they might have had the bullets for their pains." * * *

"Not long after the Lord of Chastillon met with an unhappy mischance, for, being upon the high bulwark of Sand Hill with Colonel Utenbruch, and other gentlemen and men of command, he had his head struck off with a cannon-shot above the teeth,

most commend him, but that we have an authentic rule to decide the doubt.

and his brains dashed out upon the colonel's cheek, which possibly might receive its direction from the self-same hand that did more than once, during this siege, shoot a bullet into the mouth of a charged cannon, which, because it would not be too long indebted for such a courtesie, taking fire with the blow, returned the bullet instantly back again, attended with another of its own. As good a marksman was he, (as if he did it of designe) who, when a soldier of the town having bought a loaf of bread, was holding it up in a boasting way, when a shot tooke away the uttermost half, leaving the other in the soldier's hands; who, finding that he had received no hurt, said it was a fair conditioned bullet, for it had lefte him the better half behinde."

"An English gentleman, of about three and twenty years of age, in a sally forth, had one of his arms shot off with a cannon, which, taking up, he brought back with him into the town unto the chirurgion; and coming into his lodging, shewed it. 'Behold the arm which but at dinner did help its fellow!' This he did, and endured without the least fainting, or so much as reposing upon his bed."

On the death of Elizabeth, Sir Francis returned to England, and his government of Brill was renewed by James. After a repose of about four years, he died in 1608, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The following epitaph was written upon him :---

When Vere sought death, arm'd with his sword and shield,

Death was afraid to meet him in the field;

But when his weapon he had laid aside,

Death, like a coward, struck him and he died.

Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries--Sidney Letters---Camden.

*Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi;
vix ea nostra voco.*

For though he was an honourable slip of that ancient tree of nobilitie, which was no disadvantage to his vertue, yet hee brought more glory to the name of Vere, than he tooke of blood from the family.

He was amongst all the queene's sword-men inferior to none, but superior to many, of whom it may be sayd, to speake much of him were the way to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and to forget more that would make to his honour.

I finde not that he came much to the court, for he lived almost perpetually in the campe, but when he did, no man had more of the queene's favour, and none less envied, for he seldom troubled it with the noyse, and alarums of supplantations, his way was another sort of undermining.

They report that the queene, as she loved martiall men, would court this gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence, and surely he was a souldier of great worth and command thirty yeares in the service of the states, and twenty yeares over the English in chiefe, as the queene's generall: And he that had seene the battaile of

Newport, might there best have taken him and his noble brother, the Lord of Tilbury*, to the life.

* Sir Horace Vere, Lord Tilbury, was a sharer of the dangers and glories of his brother, accompanying him to the Netherlands at the age of twenty. He continued in the service of the States after the departure of his brother in 1603, and in the campaign of 1605, distinguished himself for his gallant retreat before the famous Spanish general, Spinola. On the death of Sir Francis, he succeeded him as general of the English forces in the Netherlands, and governor of Brill, in which station he continued until the cautionary towns were delivered up by his needy king. In 1620, he was appointed to the command of the forces raised for the assistance of the Elector Palatine; and for his wisdom and valour in the defence of the palatinate, was, in 1621, by letters patent, constituted captain-general of the English forces in aid of the elector. "On his return to England," says Camden, "his majesty received him so graciously, that, forgetting himself, he stood bare before him." In 1624, he was made one of the council of war, and was the first peer created by Charles I., by whom he was made Lord Vere, Baron of Tilbury. He was made master of the ordnance in 1629, and was again in the Netherlands in 1633, as general of the English forces, in which character he was empowered to confer the honor of knighthood. Two years afterwards, having, a short time before, resolved to retire from the world, he died of a fit of apoplexy, and was buried with great military pomp in the same vault with his brother. He seems to have been as pious as he was valiant. "The thing that I have most admired in your noble lord (says Archbishop Usher, in a letter to Lady Tilbury, in 1628) is, that such lowliness of mind, and such a high pitch of a brave spirit, should be yoked together, and lodged in one breast;" and Fuller has the following parallel of the brothers:—"Sir Francis was the elder brother, Sir Horace lived to be the elder man. Sir Francis was more feared, Sir

Horace more loved by the soldiery; the former, in martial discipline, was oftentimes *rigidus ad ruinam*, the latter seldom exceeded *ad terrorem*. Sir Francis left none, Sir Horace no male issue, whose four coheirs are since matched into honorable families. Both lived in war much honored; died in peace much lamented."

WORCESTER.

My Lord of Worcester* I have here put last, though not the least in the queene's favour; he was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of her grandfather's line, by the mother, which the queene could never forget; especially where there was a concurrence of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the queene's nature, and though there might appear

* Edward, Earl of Worcester, was the son of William, Earl of Worcester. In 1589, the queen sent him ambassador to Scotland, to congratulate the king on his marriage, and inform his majesty that he and the French king had been elected knights of the garter; and, on his return, appointed him one of the privy council. He was himself installed knight of the garter in 1593, and was afterwards made master of the horse. On the accession of James, he was continued master of the horse, and constituted earl-marshal, to officiate at his coronation. On the rise of Buckingham, he was prevailed upon to resign his place of master of the horse, which he did on the 1st of January, 1616, and the next day was made lord privy seal in exchange. Two years afterwards he had a new grant of the last office, with a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a-year for life. He died in 1627, "so fruitful of issue," as Camden says, "that he had more children than all the earls of England besides." ---*Sidney Letters and Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 367; and *Camden*, p. 438.

something in this house, which might invert her grace, though not to speak of my lord himselfe but in due reverence and honour, I meane contrariety or suspition in religion, yet the queene ever respected the house and principally this noble lord, whom she first made master of her horse, and then admitted him of her councill of state.

In his youth, part whereof he spent before he came to reside at court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the court, and such as tooke up the applause of men, as well as the prayse and commendation of ladyes, and when yeares had abated those exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithfull and profound counsellor, and as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all the servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned mistris and all of them layed in the places of their rests, and for himselfe, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation he died rich, and in a peaceable old age, a fate that I make the last, and none of my slightest observations which befell not many of the rest, for they expired, like unto a light blowne out with the snuffe, stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with an offence to the standers by.

CONCLUSION.

AND thus I have delivered up my poore essay, or little draught of this great princesse and her times, with the servants of her state, and favour: I cannot say I have finished it, for I know how defective and imperfeet it is, as limned only in the originall nature, not without active blemishes, and so left it as a task fitter for remoter times, and the sallies of some bolder pencil to correct what is amisse, and draw the rest up to the life: as for me I have endeavoured it, and tooke into consideration, how easily I might have dashed in too much of the staine of pollution, and thereby have defaced the little which is done; for I professe I have taken care so to master my pen, that I might not, *ex animo* or of set purpose, discolour the truth or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment: haply there are some which will not approve of this modesty, but will censure it for pusillanimitie, and with cunning artists, endeavour to draw out their lore at length and open this of mine, which may with somewhat more ease

be effected for that the frame is ready made to their hands; and haply I could draw one in the midst of theirs, but that modesty in me forbids the defacement of men that are departed, whose posterity, yet remaining, enjoy the merit of their vertues, and do still live in their honour. And I had rather incur the censure of abruption, than be conscious and taken in the manner of sinning by eruption, and in trampling on the graves of persons at rest, whom living we durst not looke in the face, nor make our addresses unto them otherwise than with due regard to their honours, and reverence to their vertues.

FINIS.



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INDEX.

- A.
- Abergeveney, Lord, 84.
 Aikin, Miss, 4.
 Alban's, Lord St. 67.
 Amadas, Captain, 105.
 Anjou, Duke of, 69.
 Anne of Austria, 94.
 Arundel, Fitz-Allen, Earl of, 97.
 Ascham, Roger, 36.
 Ashby, William, iv.
- B.
- BACON, SIR NICHOLAS, 75—
 77. 26.
 Bacon, Robert, 75.
 Bacon, Francis, 31.
 Barlow, Captain, 105.
 Bayning, Viscount, xxiii.
 Beauchamp, Lord, 30.
 Bedford, Earl of, 26.
 Birch, Dr. iii.
 Bliss, Mr. 43.
 Blunte, Christopher, 43.
 Bohun, 4. 72. 103.
 Boleyn, Ann, 1. 4. 79.
 Boleyn, Sir Geoffrey, 2.
 Boleyn, Sir Thomas, 125.
 Boleyn, Lady Mary, 80. 100.
 Boroughs, Lord, 121.
 Bouillon, Duke de, vii. viii. ix.
 Bowyer, 8. 9.
 Brian, Guy de, 85.
 Brooke, Willoughby, Lord, 112.
 BROOKE, FULK GREVILL,
 LORD, 112—113. 60. 67.
 Brooke, Ralph, 27.
 BUCKHURST, LORD, 125—130.
 137.
 Buckingham, Duke of, xv. xvi.
 xviii. xix. xxii. 117. 149.
- BURLEIGH LORD, 50—61
 22. 26. 47. 69. 71. 75. 87.
 101. 114. 116. 126. 136.
- C.
- Cæsar Borgia, 45.
 Camden, William, 28. 34. 53.
 63. 113. 149.
 Canterbury, Laud, Archbishop
 of, 135.
 Carey, William, 80. 100.
 Carlisle, Lord, xxii.
 Carmarden, 22. 23.
 Carr, Sir Robert, 137. 138.
 Castillion, Admiral, 82.
 Catherine of Austria, 1.
 Cave, Sir Ambrose, 26.
 Cayley, 105.
 CECIL, SIR ROBERT, 136—
 142. 42. 135. 138.
 Chamberlaine, Lord Viscount,
 142.
 Champernon, Sir Philip, 103.
 Charles I. 20.
 Charles V. Emperor, 47.
 Chastillon, the Lord of, 144.
 Chatillon, Cardinal, 43.
 Cheke, Sir John, 51.
 Clifford, Lord, 142.
 Coke, Sir Anthony, 51.
 Coke, Sir Edward, 24.
 Collins, Arthur, 29. 30.
 Comines, Philip de, 104.
 Conway, Sir Edward, xviii
 xxi.
 Cuffe, 124.
- D.
- Dacres, Leonard, 100.
 Davies, Sir John, 13.
 De Lolme, 20.

- Derby, Earl of, 136.
 D'Ewes, Sir Symonds, 20.
 Drake, Sir Francis, 58. 82.
 106. 114.
 Draycott, Mrs. Alice, 43.
 Dudley, John, Lord, 39.
 Dudley, 35. 38. 39.
 E.
 Edward III. 23.
 Edward VI. 3. 27. 28. 40.
 84. 124.
 ELIZABETH, QUEEN, 1—33.
 iv. 40. 69. 85. 99. 105. 107.
 122. 125. 136. 149.
 Elizabeth, Princess, 25.
 Elmer, Mr. 37.
 Empson, 35. 38. 39.
 Englefield, Sir Francis, 26.
 ESSEX, ROBERT, EARL OF,
 114—124. v. vii. x. xi. xiv.
 12. 15. 82. 94. 107. 134.
 136. 143.
 Essex, Walter, Earl of, xxiii.
 43. 44. 66. 114. 135.
 Essex, Letitia, Countess of, 34.
 45.
 Exeter, Earl of, 137.
 F.
 Felton, John, 56.
 Frederic II. of Denmark, 73.
 Fuller, ii. xvi. xxv. 47. 52. 66.
 147.
 G.
 Gardiner, Bishop, 73.
 Gavestone, 8.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 105.
 Gondemar, Count, xvii. xviii.
 69.
 Gray, Lord General, 109.
 Gray, Lady Katharine, 29. 30.
 96.
 Gray, Lady Jane, 30. 36. 40.
- Greville, Sir Fulke, 112. 120.
 Guildford, Lord, 36. 40.
 H.
 Hackluyt, 94.
 Harrington, Sir John, 11.
 Hatton, William, 92.
 HATTON, SIR CHRISTOPHER,
 92—93. 12. 86. 88.
 Haynes, William, 44.
 Haywood, 112.
 Henry VII. 2. 35. 38. 39. 113.
 Henry VIII. 1. 4. 27. 28. 36.
 39. 41. 42. 75. 79. 89. 98.
 Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest
 son of James I. 24.
 Henry IV. of France, 114.
 Henry IV. 23.
 Hentzner, Paul, 33.
 Herbert, Lord, 30.
 Herostratus, 21.
 Hertford, William, Earl of, 30.
 Hertford, Edward, Earl of, 30.
 96.
 Hopton, Sir Owen, 88.
 Howard, William, Lord, 94.
 Howard, Thomas, Lord, 97.
 107. 115.
 Hume, 15. 18.
 HUNSDON, LORD, 100—102.
 10.
 J.
 James I. xviii. 17. 19. 20. 65.
 107. 111. 135. 136. 137.
 145. 149.
 K.
 Katherine of Austria, Queen, 1.
 Knowles, Sir Thomas, 26.
 KNOWLES, SIR FRANCIS, 80
 —83. 78. 114.
 Knowles, William, 80.
 Knowles, Sir Thomas, 80.
 Knowles, Sir Robert, 80.

L.

Languet, 62.

LEICESTER, EARL OF, 34—
46. 8. 9. 12. 22. 29. 47. 48.
52. 62. 66. 71. 73. 81. 87.
99. 101. 114. 115. 126. 143.Leicester, Lettice, Countess of,
43. 80.

Lennox, Lady, 43.

Lloyd, v. xv. xvii. 70.

Lodge, Mr. 47.

Louis XI. 104.

M.

Macchiavelli, 45.

Madox, 24. 25.

Martin, the Recorder, 19.

Mary, Queen, 3. 27. 28. 40.
47. 54. 85. 125.

Mary of Scotland, 5. 28.

Maximilian, Emperor, 94.

MOUNTJOY, LORD, 131—
135. 11. 15. 16. 58. 119.
140. 143.Mountjoy, William, Lord, 119.
132.

Murray, Earl of, 6.

N.

Naunton, Sir Robert, 1. 17.
29. 65. 105. 137.

Naunton, Henry, iv.

Naunton, Elizabeth, iv.

Naunton, Lady, xx.

Naunton, Penelope, xxiii.

Navarre, Queen of, 105.

Nicholls, Mr. iii.

Northampton, Marquis of, 26.

Norfolk, Duke of, 28. 96.

Norris, Sir John, 59. 81. 82.
105. 106. 114. 120. 134.NORRIS, HENRY, LORD, 78
—79.

Norris, William, 79.

Norris, Sir Edward, 79.

Norris, Sir Thomas, 79.

Norris, Sir Henry, 79.

Norris, Maximilian, 79.

Norris, Henry, 79.

Northumberland, Duke of, 29.
35. 39. 40.Northumberland, Countess of,
89.

Northumberland, Earl of, 94.

NOTTINGHAM, EARL OF, 94
—97.

O.

Oliver, the Barber, 104.

O'Neal, Shan, 11.

Orford, Lord, 31.

Osborne, Francis, 20. 66.

Overall, Bishop, 113.

Overburie, Sir Thomas, xv.

Oxford, Lord, 103.

Oxford, Vere, Earl of, 143.

P.

PACKINGTON, SIR JOHN, 98
—99.

Park, Mr. 51.

Parr, Catherine, 28.

Parry, 70. 71.

Parry, Blanch, 85.

Parry, Sir Thomas, 26.

Pawlett, see Winchester.

Pembroke, William, Earl, 28.

Pembroke, Philip, Earl of, xxiii.

Perez, Antonio, vi. viii. ix. x.
137.

PERROT, SIR JOHN, 84—91.

Perrot, Sir Thomas, xxiii. 89.

Perrot, Sir Thomas, jun. 89.

Philip II. of Spain, 15. 47.

Phillips, Edward, 65.

Pope, Alexander, 127.

R.

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER, 103.
—111. xvi. 13. 47. 90. 115.

122. 136. 143.

Rapin, xviii.

Rich, Lord, 135.

Richard II. 14.

Robsart, Sir John, 34.

Rogers, Sir Edward, 26.

Russell, Sir William, 11.

S.

Sackville, Sir Thomas, 10.

Sackville, Sir Richard, 125.

Sackville, Lord, 137.

Salisbury, Earl of, *vide* Cecil.

Seymour, Lord, 40.

Sheffield, Lady Douglas, 34.

Sheffield, Lord, 43.

Shrewsbury, Earl of, 29.

Sidney, Sir Henry, 29. 30. 66.

Sidney, Ann, Countess of Pembroke, 28. 29.

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP, 62—68.
xxv. 35. 58, 69. 113. 127.

Sinclair, Sir John, 16. 17. 20.

Slavvata, Baron, 32.

Smith, Sir Thomas, Commissioner of Customs, 22.

Somerset, Duke of, 40. 54.

Southampton, Marquis of, 84.

Speed, 113.

Spencer, 8.

Spenser, 63.

Still, Bishop, 11.

Strabo, 21.

Suffolk, Duke of, 30.

Suffolk, Dutchess of, 73.

SUSSEX, EARL OF, 47—49.
10. 43. 66.

Swale, Dr. 93.

T.

Tarleton, 76. 103.

Tasso, 62.

Theopompus, 21.

Thornton, Dr. Thomas, 62.

Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas, 43.

Throgmorton, Elizabeth, 106.

Tilbury, Lord, 147.

Tyrone, 11. 15. 83. 134.

U.

Usher, Archbishop, 147.

Utenbruch, Colonel, 144.

V.

Valerius Maximus, 21.

Vere, Geoffrey, 143.

Vere, 8.

VERE, SIR FRANCIS, 143—
148. 115.

Vere, Sir Horace, *see* Tilbury.

Vernon, Mr. vii. ix.

Verstegan, 53.

W.

WALSINGHAM, SIR FRANCIS,
69—72. 14. 22. 47. 63. 67.
71. 72. 136. 140.

Warder, Sir Matthew, 67.

Warton, Thomas, 65.

Warwick, Earl of, 40. 66. 94.

Warwick, Ambrose, Earl of, 41.

Warwick, Richard, Earl of, 52.

Westmoreland, Earl of, 52. 94.
112.

Wiat, Sir Thomas, 28.

Wiemark, M. xvi.

Williams, Lord of Thame, 78.

William I. iv.

WILLOUGHBY, LORD, 73—
74. 143.

Wilson, 25.

Wiltshire, Sir Thomas Boleyn,
Earl of, 80.

Wiltshire, Paulett, Earl of, *see*
Winchester.

Winchester, Marquis of, 27.
51. 84.

Winwood, Sir Ralph, xv.

WORCESTER, EDWARD, EARL
OF, 149—150.

Worcester, William, Earl of,
149.

WOTTON, SIR H. 114—117.
123.

dh



Naunton, Robert

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